

BUTLEY PRIORY, SUFFOLK

I. THE HISTORY OF THE PRIORY

By J. N. L. MYRES

Anno milleno centeno septuageno
Anglorum primas corrui ense Thomas
Edes nigrorum de Butteley canonicorum
Anno fundata fuit atque sequente locata
Per fundatorem Ranulphi Glanivill et priorem¹

So a canon of Butley, with a better sense of history than of versification, described the foundation of his house in the year following the murder of Thomas à Becket. The founder, Ranulf Glanvill, had not yet risen to the summit of his power as Justiciar to Henry II, but he was already a substantial landholder in Suffolk, and the *terra de Brochous*, on

¹These verses are part of the additional matter written on a Fourteenth-Century Rent Roll of the Priory which has been printed by H. G. Evelyn White in *East Anglian*, Third Series xi (1905), Parts ccxli to ccxvi. This Roll, which is in the possession of Rev. C. H. Evelyn White, of Felixstowe, is one of the two documents belonging to the Priory whose present whereabouts I have been able to trace, the other being a survey of the Priory lands in Bawdesey made by Walter Fulbourn late in the fifteenth century and marked to be kept 'in *eventum penes nos, priorem et conventum de Buttele*,' B.M. Add MSS. 23948. The contents of Mr. Evelyn White's document include, in addition to the Rent Roll itself, (a) part of an early fifteenth-century inventory of plate, (b) some liturgical fragments of about 1450 in Latin and English, (c) the English Bidding Prayer, for use in Butley's appropriated churches dated 1401, (d) 'Evidencie de Cenobio de Butteley,' c. 1450, which opens with these verses and evidently comes straight

from the 'Kalendare Evidentiarum,' which in the early eighteenth century was, according to Tanner (*Notitia Monastica*, ed. Nasmith (1787), in the hands of Robert Hawes, of Framlingham, whose account of Butley in his *History or Memoirs of Framlingham and Loes Hundred* (1712), pp. 361-370 (MS. Pemb. Coll., Cambridge), is thus based on an original source of value. The account of the foundation of the Priory and of the descent of the founder's property given by Dugdale (*Monasticon* (ed. 1846), vi, 1, 381), from Robert Glover's collections, by Dodsworth (Bodleian Library, Dodsworth, MS. xxxiii, fo. 2, 19), and other writers is substantially the same as that here given. a fact which conveniently indicates its source and proves its reliability: (e) copies and abstracts of contracts and other legal documents, the latest of which is dated Sept. 24, 18 Hen. VII. The Roll was evidently knocking about in the treasury of the Priory and was used for various purposes in the course of the fifteenth century.

which he established the Priory, was part of the marriage portion of his wife Bertha, daughter of Theobald of Valoins, Lord of Parham. The site chosen was on the sandy heathlands of East Suffolk within a few miles of that point on the rather desolate shore, south of Orford, where the river Ore, having wandered down the coast all the way from Aldeburgh, at last forces its way through the pebble banks of Shingle Street into the open sea. The Butley River, up which no doubt came much of the stone to build the Priory, cuts off direct access northwards to Orford, and the estuary of the Deben on the south is first spanned by a bridge at Woodbridge eight miles away to the south-west. The ~~position~~ in which Butley stands is thus really a *cui-de-sac*. No through traffic goes near it and its population can have changed little in the last eight centuries. The six miles of unbroken heath between Melton and Hollesley, and the immemorial oaks and hollies of Staverton Forest still confront and delight the modern traveller, as they no doubt confronted Glanvill and his Canons seven and a half centuries ago.

The foundation charter is preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,¹ but it throws no light on the size of the original foundation or the source from which the founder derived the personnel. The house was from the first substantially endowed with churches and lands in Suffolk and Norfolk, and later benefactions placed it among the most substantial houses of East Anglia. The *Taxatio* of 1291 shows the Priory holding the appropriations of fifteen churches, and temporalities in some sixty Suffolk parishes, and in a few in Norfolk and Lincoln. It had at that time a rateable income of £195 10s. 4d. At the end of its history the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 records twenty-seven appropriated churches, twenty in Suffolk, four in Norfolk, and one each in Lincoln, Essex, and the City of London. The total net income was returned as £318 17s. 2½d.

No attempt will be made in what follows to discuss the details of the Priory's properties. This aspect of

¹ Printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon* (ed. 1846), vi. 1, 380.

the story has been fairly well summarized by the Victoria County History, and though many details could be added there is no need to cover the same ground again.¹ But no attempt was there made to give a chronological account of the Priory and its inmates, and the object of the following pages is to collect what evidence exists, much of which, though accessible in published form, has not apparently been put together before.² In spite of the absence of original documents belonging to the Priory, something approaching a continuous story can be made, and in particular the succession of Priors given in the Victoria County History has been both extended and corrected.³

Of GILBERT the first prior (1171-c. 1195) we know little but that he witnessed a charter of Woodbridge Priory⁴ and also a grant by Ranulf Glanvill of certain lands at Leiston to Theobald, son of William of that place⁵: neither document is closely dated. To his priorate should probably be assigned the first stage of the Priory Church (Period I), with its long, aisleless nave and square transepts (Pl. x): to it belong also certain carved fragments of late Norman character, now preserved at the Gatehouse. There is no reason to doubt the story told by Hawes that he was succeeded about 1195 by the second Prior WILLIAM (c. 1195-1213), the first to be elected by the convent, and that Pope Celestine III (1191-98) confirmed the choice in a Bull which conferred the right of free election in future, a privilege which soon led to trouble, as we shall see.⁶

¹ *V.C.H. Suffolk*, ii, 95-99. A number of references given in this account are misprinted, and corrections are noted in the present paper.

² I have attempted to assemble of the evidence for what may be termed the 'external relations' of the Priory, with King, Pope, the Chapters of the Augustinian Order, and the Universities in *Oxford Historical Essays dedicated to H. E. Salter*, pp. 190-206. More detail on these aspects of the Priory's history will be found in that study.

³ See Appendix 6. I have to acknowledge the most generous help of Mr. V. B. Redstone, F.S.A., of Woodbridge, and of his daughter Miss Lilian Redstone, in the follow-

ing pages. Information supplied me by Mr. Redstone is followed by his initials in brackets.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Various*, iv, p. 274.

⁵ Hawes. *History or Memoirs of Framlingham and Loes Hundred* (1712). MS. Pembroke Coll., Cambridge, p. 366 (quoted below as Hawes).

⁶ Hawes (*ibid*) quotes the Bull, no doubt from the *Kalendare Evidentiarium* which was in his possession: 'et quod liceat Canonicis aliquem ex suis virum bonae Conversationis loco decedentis Prioris libere subrogare nullius Ecclesiasticae vel Laicae Potestatis Prohibitione vel Contradictione obstante.'

Prior William's name occurs in a charter by which he and the convent granted to the Priory of Woodbridge the tithe of Baldwin de Ufford's Mill in Woodbridge, for an annual pound of cummin.¹ The charter is not dated, but is witnessed among others by Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Suffolk, whose *floruit* runs from 1192 to 1210.² That William was still Prior in 1212 is shown by the occurrence of his name in a final concord of that year whereby the Priory obtained half the advowson of Gissing, Norfolk, from John, son of Geoffrey, 'in consideration of the reception of John and his heirs into all the benefits of the said monastery.'³ But he was soon succeeded by the third Prior ROBERT (1213- before 1219), for two years later the latter's name appears in a fine whereby the Priory obtained the advowson of Weibred from Alan of Witheresdal.⁴ Robert gave place to ADAM (? before 1219- after 1234) before October 1219, when his name occurs in a quitclaim whereby Brian, son of Alan, made over to the Priory the whole right which he had in the advowson of the church of Biker, and was received by the convent in return 'in all alms and prayers which shall be made from henceforth in their church for ever.'⁵ It was probably Prior Adam who

¹ The charter is printed from B.M.Add. Charters, 4947, by V. B. Redstone, in *Bygone Woodbridge* (Woodbridge, N.D., p. 8).

² *Proc. Suffolk, Inst. of Archaeology*, xx, p. 14 (V.B.R.).

³ W. Rye. *Short Calendar of Feet of Fines for Norfolk* (1885), no. 482, p. 30.

⁴ W. Rye. *Calendar of Feet of Fines. Suffolk* (1900), p. 17. An undated deed relating to land and tithes at Weibred and mentioning 'R. Prior of Butley,' is probably of this time. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Series, x, 104. An 'R. Prior of Butley,' witnesses a grant of an assart at Svineland to the Nuns of St. Mary, Wike, *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, ii, A3691. The list of Priors given by R. Day in *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Archaeology*, iv (1874), pp. 405-413, and in V.C.H., places Robert's election in 1213, which is probably right. The source for the early Priors in this list down to

Robert II (1268) (after whom the Norwich Bishop's Registers have been used) is not clear. V.C.H. states that it is 'taken from a cartulary in private hands,' but it is worth noting that Day who does refer to a 'Reg. Butley' in other parts of his article, does not mention it as his source for the early priors. The list is in Hawes, but I do not think he got it from his *Kalendare*, for it is both incomplete and inaccurate; it seems to have been compiled from an imperfect study of the Feet of Fines.

⁵ *Abstracts of Final Concords (County of Lincoln)*, i (1896), p. 119. V.C.H., following Day and Hawes, dates Adam's succession in 1234. Browne Willis (*History of Abbies*, ii (1719), p. 222, mentions a Prior William who 'occurs, 1229.' He gives no authority and though he, of course, used Tanner's Collections, it would be rash to accept this without confirmation. The only way to

received a Papal Indult in March 1221 relieving him of any obligation to take cognizance of causes unless special mention of the Indult be made in the Papal Letters of appointment.¹ It was probably he also who received in January 1227 a Monition and Mandate from the same Pope Honorius III to make provision of a living for one Trasmund, clerk of Ferentino.² A complicated dispute over tithes with the nuns of Campsey Ashe also led in 1229 and 1230 to the arrival of Papal Mandates at Butley.³ In 1235 the last certain mention of Prior Adam occurs in a final concord with Richard, son of Nicholas, respecting 30/- of rent in Tilbury,⁴ but it was no doubt he who entertained King Henry III on his visit to Butley on March 9 in that year,⁵ and who, in the capacity of Collector of the Aid of Prelates, answered successfully for 20 marks at the Exchequer in 1236.⁶

About the same time occurred the first dispute arising out of the Papal privilege of free election mentioned above. The founder's property had passed on his death to his three daughters, the eldest of whom, Matilda, received the Manor of Benhall and the advowson of Butley Priory. She and her husband, William de Auberville made little use of their powers as patrons, for it was in their days that the Papal privilege of free election was obtained. William de Auberville indeed was a substantial benefactor. He is alleged to have 'repaired or rebuilt the Priory,'⁷

reconcile all the statements is to assume two Adams; the succession would then run Robert 1213—before 1219: Adam before 1219—before 1229: William before 1229—1234: Adam 1234—. I prefer the succession in the text.

¹ *Calendar of Papal Registers (Papal Letters)*, i, p. 79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 121—123, the case is summarized in V.C.H., *Suffolk*, ii, 112.

⁴ R. E. G. Kirk. *Feet of Fines for Essex*, i (1899), no. 404, p. 103 (see p. 182, n. 3).

⁵ Letters Patent and Close and two Charters were given at Butley on that day, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232—47, p. 96; *Close Rolls*, 1234—37, p. 57;

Cal. Charter Rolls, 1226—57, pp. 195 and 203. Henry III was again at Butley on 1 April, 1248: *Close Rolls*, 1247—51, p. 37; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1226—57, p. 329.

⁶ *Book of Fees*, p. 566.

⁷ I have not been able to trace this statement further back than Taylor's *Index Monasticus* (1821), p. 94, from which it was copied by the editors of Dugdale, *Monasticon* (ed. 1846), vi, 1, 379. But it accords so well with the archaeological evidence that there is no reason to doubt it. Taylor mentions Hawes' 'Kalendar of Evidences' among his sources (p. xxviii), and he may have got this information and also the list of benefactors (see p. 182, n. 1) from it.

and to this period, about the turn of the twelfth to the thirteenth century, are probably to be assigned the first extension of the church and the main laying out of the domestic buildings in stone (Pl. x). His son Hugh de Auberville, also appears in a list of benefactors,¹ but with the grandson trouble arose. William de Auberville, the younger, probably about 1230 'claimed the advowson of the house of Butley and the convent resisted him at the gates. But afterwards the aforesaid William by a final concord quitclaimed the advowson free of all service to the Prior and Convent for ever, in such a way that when there is a vacancy in the church of Butley no *custos* should be appointed there, as is clear from his deed among the Charters of Butley.'² The victory, as we shall see, was only temporary.

We do not know how long Prior Adam survived. A final concord of 1238 unfortunately fails to name the Prior,³ and we enter on a dark patch in Butley's story. A Prior PETER is said to occur in 1251,⁴ and a Prior HUGH in 1255,⁵ but it is not until the mention of Prior WALTER (before 1260-1268) in a final concord of 1260-61 that light begins to return.⁶ In his time the monastery obtained a number of benefactions, the advowson of Langhale by the final concord just mentioned, the advowson of Dyham, Essex, in 1261 from Robert de Stuteville, who 'is received with his

¹ Taylor, *loc. cit.* This is the only list of benefactors of Butley I have traced. Many of the names can be checked from other sources, e.g. quitclaims, or from the 'Dotacio ecclesie de B' in Mr. Evelyn White's Rent Roll (see note 1), and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

² From Mr. Evelyn White's Rent Roll (*East Anglian*, Third Series xi, Part ccxlii, p. 30). The passage is used by Dugdale (from Robert Glover's Collections), but is curiously omitted by Dodsworth (Bodl. Dodsworth, MSS. XXXIII, fo. 2, 19). I have not found William de Auberville's final concord: the Priory obtained a confirmation of their right of free election from Gregory IX (1227-42), no doubt on the occasion of this dispute (*East Anglian*, *loc. cit.*, p. 60).

³ W. Rye. *Short Calendar of Feet of Fines for Norfolk* (1885), p. 60. A note in Augustine Page, *Supplement to the Suffolk Traveller* (1844), p. 174, mentions a grant of certain churches to him in 20 Hen. III, by William de Auberville the elder, but no authority is given. And there is at least the possibility of confusion with William de Auberville the younger if the date is correct.

⁴ Hawes' list of Priors, repeated by Day and V.C.H. (see p. 180, n. 4).

⁵ B.M. Harl. MS. 639, fo. 62 (v.B.R.). This Prior is not in Hawes' list.

⁶ W. Rye. *Short Calendar of Feet of Fines for Norfolk* (1885), p. 98. In Hawes' list, copied by Day and V.C.H., his appearance is wrongly dated 1263.

heirs into all benefits and orisons' of the house,¹ and the advowson of Chattegrave and land there in 1268 from Lady Cassandra Baynard.² In all these and in a fine of 1263³ Prior Walter's name occurs, but in 1268 he was succeeded by another ROBERT (1268— before 1277—78) who figures in quitclaims of that year⁴ and of 1271,⁵ but had given place to Prior THOMAS (before 1277—78— after 1290—93) by 1277/78.⁶

Prior Thomas, whose name does not occur in any previous lists of Priors, must have entertained Archbishop Peckham at Butley on 25 February, 1281,⁷ but he is known mainly through the appearance of his name in deeds connected with the Priory's property at West Somerton, Norfolk, which continually involved the house in litigation. The quitclaim of 1277/78 already mentioned, is the first to deal with the matter: and in 1286 we find a final concord respecting the advowson between Prior Thomas and Humphrey de Bassyngeburn.⁸ Royal agents were, however, interested, and one Roger de Somerton petitioned the King in Parliament in 1290 that "the Prior of Butley has unjustly detained the manor of Somerton in Fleg . . . and also the advowson . . . as if it was the right of his church . . . whereas they belong to the King. And the Prior comes and says that he holds the said manor with the advowson as the right of his church of Butley, and that he and his predecessors from time immemorial have held them so, . . . and he asks for a judgment whether he need answer without the King's writ."⁹ By raising this legal technicality the Prior not only got away with his plea for the moment but also secured its immortality, for his action in refusing to answer

¹ R. E. G. Kirk, *Feet of Fines for Essex*, i (1899), no. 1464, p. 246.

² W. Rye, *Short Calendar of Feet of Fines for Norfolk* (1885), p. 102. This is presumably the reason for her inclusion in the benefactors' list under the year 1271. Taylor, *Index Monasticus* (1821), p. 94 (see p. 182, n. 1).

³ W. Rye, *Calendar of Feet of Fines, Suffolk* (1900), p. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵ C. W. Foster, *Final Concords of*

the County of Lincoln, ii (1920), p. 273.

⁶ W. Rye, *Short Calendar of Feet of Fines for Norfolk* (1885), p. 117.

⁷ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Series), i, 183. Peckham appears in Taylor's list of benefactors of Butley.

⁸ W. Rye, *Short Calendar of Feet of Fines for Norfolk* (1885), p. 129.

⁹ Paraphrased from Ryley's *Pleadings* (ed. 1661).

for a freehold without a royal writ was quoted as a precedent in the famous seventeenth-century constitutional law-suit of *Skynner v. The East India Co.*¹ Some time between 1290 and 1293 Prior Thomas makes his last appearance in an action against John Luvetot, lately King's Justice, for false enrolments in a *novel disseisin* brought against the Prior by one Martin of West Somerton, whom the Prior alleged to be his villein.² The tenants of the Manor were evidently making full use of the Prior's doubtful title, and this is probably the explanation of the incident of February 1299, when the Priory was in trouble with the Crown for permitting the Leper Hospital at West Somerton, which was in their custody, to be broken into: in October 1300 they had to pay 100 marks for a fresh grant of the hospital.³ It may be added in passing that the hospital went completely to ruin under Butley's control: in March 1374 commissioners were appointed by the Crown to enquire into its affairs on a report of the scandalous mismanagement, not to say speculation, of the Prior as its Warden.⁴ Twenty-five years later, on payment of a fine of forty shillings, the Priory secured a fresh grant, but we learn that as the site of the hospital is desolate and the revenues fallen from £60 to 10 marks, the old conditions of tenure are no longer to be observed.⁵ No doubt the Black Death, and the declining prevalence of leprosy in England were in part responsible, but the incident is one of the least creditable in Butley's history.

The later years of Edward I's reign reflected at Butley, as elsewhere, the growing financial difficulties

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 8th Report, pp. 168 and 172. W. A. Coppinger, *Suffolk Records*, 1 (1904), p. 447, is led by misreading the case to turn Roger of Somerton into a Prior of Butley!

² *Camden Society*, 3rd Series, ix, pp. 62-67. The case is not closely dated and we do not know when Prior Thomas' term came to an end. There is evidence for a Prior John at some point between 1290-93 and the election of Richard de lakesle in 1303. See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1446-52, p. 234 and 1452-61, p. 16 and p. 196 below.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, pp. 469, 475, 511.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1370-74, p. 479. The resignation of Prior John Baxter, which took place before January 1374, may have been the result of this scandal. *Nor. Ep. Reg.* vi, 30 (V.C.H. misprints this reference). I am informed on good authority that there is still a manor of West Somerton, Butley-with-the-Rectory, though all connection between the two places ended in 1538.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 114.

of the Crown and the increasing complications of the King's home and foreign policy. In 1294-95 the Prior receives protection for granting the King a moiety of benefices and goods for the current year,¹ and in 1297 for agreeing to pay at the Exchequer a certain sum yearly.² In August 1295 he had been ordered to give facilities to the King's constables for the custody of the sea coasts.³ The Royal policy of billeting superannuated servants on monasteries is well illustrated at Butley at this time. In April 1303 Roger le Usher was sent to be maintained at the Convent with two horses and two grooms,⁴ and in June Master William le Surigien arrived with a horse and groom. The Canons, however, sent him back with the excuse that the house is so burdened nowadays with debts and by the inundation of the sea that they are unable to fulfil the King's prayers. By September, however, he was again at Butley, the King having regarded the excuse as 'null,'⁵ and there he remained until his death, which must have occurred before March 1312, for when it was known, Letters Close were sent to Butley with a request that 'John de la Marche who has long served the King, shall receive the same allowance as William le Leche received during his life.' Again the Priory raised the excuses of 'divers contributions and many losses by the inundation of the sea,' again to be ignored as 'frivolous and inane' by the King.⁶ Presumably he too lived on the reluctant charity of the house until his death.

With the election of RICHARD DE IAKESLE (September 1303-1307) as Prior the Norwich Episcopal Registers become available as a source of more accurate information on the succession, and most of the Priors can henceforward be closely dated. Normally the Bishop's function was limited to the examination of the formal side of the election, and if correct, to its

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 90.

² *Ibid.*, p. 277.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1288-96, p. 455.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1302-07, p. 86.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 91 and 107. In September, 1303, there was a change of Prior under possibly unusual circumstances (see p. 186, n. 1).

⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1307-13, pp. 450 and 566.

confirmation and the issue of instructions to the Archdeacon of Suffolk to instal the Prior-elect. On this occasion, however, the phraseology suggests that the Bishop made the appointment himself, but we have no information of the reasons for this unusual course.¹ Two further short Priorates followed, those of NICHOLAS DE WICTELESAM (December 1307-1309),² and RICHARD DE HOXNE (July 1309-1311),³ and on both occasions the normal procedure was apparently followed.

Richard de Hoxne was succeeded by Prior WILLIAM DE GEYTONE (February 1311-1332) who had been Cellarer of the house before his election which took place, we are told, *per viam compromissi*.⁴ William has some claims to be regarded as one of the great Priors of Butley, for it was in all probability during his period of office that the noble Gatehouse, the only substantial fragment of Butley's buildings to survive, was built. It is, therefore, appropriate that his fine tombstone, though no longer decorated with the brass which once adorned it, should be the only monument to a Prior of Butley which appears to remain. It is now in Hollesley Church a few miles away, though no doubt it was once in the Church or the Chapter house of the Priory.⁵ A number of incidents in his tenure of office may be noted. In July 1316 the Convent paid twenty shillings for a pardon in view of unlicensed acquisitions under the Statute of Mortmain, the existence of which they had hitherto apparently ignored⁶: in February 1321 a general permit to acquire property in mortmain up to £10 in annual value was obtained and this was not apparently exhausted until

¹ The entry runs, 'Sexto decimo Kalendis Octobris anno domini M^oCCC^{mo} tertio apud Blofield dominus prefecit fratrem Ricardum de Iakesle in priorem monasterii de Buttele iure ad ipsum ista vice legitime devoluto,' Nor. Ep. Reg., i, fo. 12 d.

² Nor. Ep. Reg. i, fo. 25 d.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 46.

⁵ The stone has not been identified before, though fortunately just that

part of the Lombardic inscription survives to make it certain. An earlier conjecture that it might be the memorial of Prior William de Halesworth (1374-1410) is borne out neither by the inscription nor by the style of the monument.

⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-1317, p. 488. As usual the pardon was preceded by an Inquisition. *P.R.O. Lists and Indices, Inquisitiones ad quod damnum*, i, p. 162 (File cxiv, no. 10).

1358.¹ In April 1322 the Prior was asked to sanction the grant of one ship by the Bailiffs and men of Bawdesey and Gosford for the expedition of the Scottish war,² and a year later Ranulph, *le priours serjaunt* of Butley, was involved with others in an action for entering Upton Manor, a village in which the Priory held some property, breaking into the house, fishing the stews and assaulting the men.³ In November 1324 and in February 1331 the King's escheator was ordered to observe Butley's rights in various small parcels of land which on one pretext or another had come into Royal hands,⁴ while in October 1331 Pope John XXII reserved a benefice in the gift of the Convent for one Roger de Caston, M.A., an example of the practice which was soon to lead to the Statute of Provisors.⁵

But next to the building of the Gatehouse the most important event of William de Geytone's priorate was his presidency, along with the Prior of Dunstable, at the General Chapter of the Augustinian Order in the Province of Canterbury, which took place at Northampton in 1325. The Augustinians had held such Chapters more or less regularly at three yearly intervals since the early thirteenth century, but the Northampton meeting of 1325 marked a turning point in the history of the organisation. It repealed all acts of previous chapters which it did not specifically confirm: it laid down elaborate regulations for the future procedure at Chapter meetings: it provided that the office of President should be held by the same persons for two successive Chapters, and it was the first occasion on which the Committee of *diffinitores* appears as the executive centre of the Chapter's organisation.⁶

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1317-21, p. 566, 1358-61, p. 41. I have analysed the working of the Mortmain Statute in regard to Butley elsewhere (*Oxford Historical Essays dedicated to H. E. Salter*, p. 195-197), and shall not refer to the matter again here. The remaining licenses are in *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1343-45, p. 24; 1345-48, p. 73; 1350-54, p. 301; 1364-67, pp. 88 and 118; 1381-85, p. 401; 1405-08, p. 105.

² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1318-23, pp. 546 and 547.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1321-24, p. 313.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323-27, p. 237; 1330-33, p. 187. In the second case the non-performance of a very curious serjeanty was the cause of the trouble.

⁵ *Calendar of Papal Registers (Papal Letters)*, ii, p. 352.

⁶ H. E. Salter, *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons* (Oxford Historical Society, 1920), p. 10.

It is interesting to conjecture, but impossible to determine, the part played by the Prior of Butley in these important decisions. In accordance with the regulation of 1325 he and the Prior of Dunstable presided again at the next Chapter at Huntingdon in 1328, whose short Acts were chiefly remarkable for the prohibition to members of the Order of any garment *cuius curiositas vel deformitas de nimia notabilitate poterit reprehendi*.¹

William de Geytone died soon before September, 1332, and was succeeded as Prior by ALEXANDER DE STRATFORD (September 1332-1333), of whose election there is a long account in the Norwich Register. The Bishop was represented by John de Brechham, D.C.L., Rector of Sudburne, as special commissary—his commission is recited in full—and the confirmation of the election took place in Holy Trinity Priory in Ipswich, the Prior-elect professing canonical obedience to the Bishop in the person of his commissary.² The change of Prior had evidently prevented a reply being sent to a request from the King for a subsidy on account of the marriage of his sister Eleanor. This request had been sent in June 1332,³ and the only recorded event of Alexander's short priorate was its repetition in February 1333.⁴ By July of that year he was dead and the election of his successor raised once again the question of free election, for the claims of the Lord of the Manor of Benhall to the Founder's patronage rights found a fresh protagonist.

From the account given in the Bishop's Register one would not imagine that anything unusual had occurred, but then the Bishop was not interested in the putative rights of lay patrons. MATHEW DE PAKENHAM (July 1333-1353) was *concorditer electus*, the election was confirmed, and the Archdeacon of Suffolk was instructed to instal him.⁵ But Alianore Ferre, widow of Guy Ferre, who had obtained the Manor of Benhall from Nicholas Kyrrell, grandson of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

² Nor. Ep. Reg., ii, fo. 51 d.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1330-33, p. 590.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333-37, p. 92.

⁵ Nor. Ep. Reg., ii, fo. 58. The

year is given as 1334 by V.C.H.

William de Auberville the younger,¹ told the story from a different point of view in her petition to the King in Parliament.² She claimed that in virtue of her late husband's purchase of the Manor of Benhall, the advowson of the Priory was hers, and that on a vacancy she ought to have the wardship of the Priory, as her predecessors had had from the time that the house was founded. But now Matthew de Pakenham, Canon of the said house, has been elected by the Convent and received by the Bishop, without any notice of such reception being sent to her, or anything said to her about it. Moreover, this Matthew, along with three canons, John de Framelingham, Richard de Chiltenham and Matthew de Getton, with other named persons, ever since the death of the last Prior had kept her out of the Priory and its wardship by force of arms. The King's answer referred her to the Common Law remedy, and we do not know how this phase of the dispute ended, but Prior Matthew certainly remained Prior for the next twenty years. Our other notices of him seem to bear out the vigorous if not violent character suggested by the circumstances of his election. In October 1334, just over a year later, he was appointed one of two Commissioners for Suffolk to treat with and assess the boroughs in respect of the last tenth and fifteenth.³ So harshly did he exercise his functions on this occasion that he found it worth while nine years later to pay a hundred shillings for a pardon for all manner of oppressions, extortions and excesses committed by colour of his office.⁴ Within a year of his election again, we find him vigorously defending the rights of the Priory to the advowson of Dedham, Essex. In a petition to the King in Parliament he complained that Gilbert of Dedham had made a presentation to the church there which the Prior and Convent have held for twenty years and more to their

¹ The arms of Guy Ferre occur in such a prominent position over the Gatehouse entry (see p. 236) as to suggest either that his claim to the patronage was recognised in his lifetime or that he contributed substantially to the building of the Gatehouse. They also serve to date the

Gatehouse between 1308 when he acquired the Manor, and 1334 when the quarrel here described took place after his death.

² *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 85.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1334-38, p. 39.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1343-45, p. 6.

own uses. The Bishop refused to admit the candidate, knowing that the presentation was irregular, whereupon he appealed to Rome, with the result that the Prior was held to answer in the Papal court for the advowson of the Church, as well for the right of Patronage as for its Possession. So he concludes, 'for the love of God and the salvation of his right and the laws of his realm, may it please the King to grant the Prior letters to the Pope so that that which touches the King's right and according to his Laws ought to be tried in his Realm should not be tried before the Pope to the damage of the Crown.'¹ All the spirit of the anti-Papal legislation of the fourteenth century speaks in Prior Matthew's words.

The vigorous foreign policy of Edward III and its attendant financial stress is reflected in Royal relations with Butley at this period. In November 1334 the Prior, along with many others, was asked to anticipate payment of the recently granted tenth in view of the invasion of the Scots.² In April 1347 a loan of wool for the French War was requested,³ and £12 in cash or kind was apparently advanced, for we find in September 1347 the King promising to repay this sum lent 'towards the expedition of the war of France' at Michaelmas, 1348:⁴ of more domestic interest was the trouble over a servant, one Hugh le Graunt, formerly Receiver of the Prior, who on his surrender in July 1350 received a pardon for outlawry which had been incurred through his failure to appear to give an account of his Receivership.⁵

We have no information of the effect on Butley of the Black Death. Prior Matthew at any rate survived it, though the Papal Indult of January 1353 permitting him to choose a confessor to give him plenary remission at the hour of death suggests that at that time he was in failing health.⁶ By September of the same year he had in any case resigned, for his successor ALEXANDER DE DRENKESTON (September, 1353-?) had been

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 82.

² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333-37, p. 357.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1346-49, p. 266.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1345-48, p. 338.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1348-50, p. 549.

⁶ *Cal. of Papal Registers (Papal Letters)*, iii, p. 504.

unanimously elected on his *libera Cessio* before that date.¹ A mysterious incident in the same year has probably some bearing on this resignation, though the evidence at our disposal does not make possible a reconstruction of the course of events. In December 1353 the Prior of Ledes was appointed by the Presidents of the Augustinian Chapter, which had met in the summer at Oseney, to act as Collector in the Dioceses of Rochester and Canterbury of a levy of a halfpenny in the mark on the revenues of all Augustinian houses *pro placito prosequendo contra Abbatem de Butteleie*.² Dr. Salter has conjectured that Butley was trying to join the Arrouasian branch of the Augustinian Order, and bases his opinion partly on the use of the term Abbot for Prior, for the Arrouasian houses all became Abbeys, and partly on the fact that at the Augustinian Chapter of the same summer a levy had been authorised *contra illos de secta Orroriencium quorum malicia et rebellio verisimiliter speratur et timetur*. It is possible that Matthew de Pakenham's resignation may have been due not to illness, but to the failure of a scheme for joining the Arrouasians and so escaping the irritating obligations which attached to membership of the Augustinian Chapter.³ But Butley never became an Arrouasian House.

The next twenty years are practically blank. We do not even know how long Alexander de Drenkeston remained Prior nor whether he was succeeded directly by the JOHN BAXTER (?-January, 1374) whose resignation in January 1374 we have already tentatively connected with the mismanagement of the West Somerton Leper

¹ Nor. Ep. Reg., iv, fo. 148. This reference is misprinted in V.C.H.

² H. E. Salter, *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons* (Oxford Historical Society, 1920), p. 161. The Abbey of Arrouaise near Arras became in the early twelfth century the centre of a separatist group within the Augustinian Order. See A. W. Clapham *Lesnes Abbey* (1915), Appendices B for the Arrouasian Rule and C for its English houses.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv and 60. I have discussed more fully elsewhere (*Oxford Historical Essays dedicated to H. E. Salter*, pp. 201-2) the various possibilities. It need only be noted here that the designation Abbey for Priory is not uncommon at Butley in medieval as in later writers and has been perpetuated in the modern name for the farm on the site of the Priory's domestic buildings.

Hospital.¹ A papal mandate of 1364 unfortunately fails to name the Prior of Butley to whom it was addressed.² The only other events between 1353 and 1374 to be noted are the 'satisfaction' of the general licence in mortmain of 1321, which expired with a benefaction in 1358,³ and the issue of a new general licence in 1365 to cover acquisitions up to £20 in annual value.⁴ This licence lasted until 1405.⁵

With the election of WILLIAM DE HALESWORTH (January 1374–March 1410) Butley entered on a period of long priorates, the rule of Halesworth and his two next successors William Randeworth and William Poley covering one hundred and nine years. There is a long account of the formalities of Halesworth's election in the Norwich Episcopal Registers. The Bishop was represented by his principal official John de Derlyngton, licentiate in Canon Law, and master of St. Giles' Hospital, Norwich, who sat to confirm the election in Butley parish church. The Bishop's commission to him, and his confirmation to the Prior-elect are both given in full: and the Archdeacon of Suffolk as usual was authorised to perform the installation.⁶

The most interesting event of the early part of Halesworth's tenure of office was probably the determination of the long dispute over the advowson of the Priory. The Manor of Benhall had been granted on the extinction of the line of Guy and Alianore Ferre to Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk (created 1337, died 1369).⁷ In 1382 with the death of William de

¹ Nor. Ep. Reg., vi, fo. 30. The reference is misprinted in V.C.H. There is in the British Museum a seal-cast described as that of 'Roger de Bungay, Prior of Butley.' The seal is of the fourteenth century, and, unless a mistake has been made in the attribution, this otherwise unknown Prior must have been in office for part of this period between 1353 and 1374.

² It is printed in full in Rymer's *Foedera* (Record. Comm.), iii, Pt. II, 733.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1358–61, p. 41.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1364–67, p. 88. A licence of this time is implied by later documents, though this one is endorsed 'vacated because sur-

rendered.' It was clearly obtained in view of a large benefaction including the manor and advowson of Boyton, which materialised the same year. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1405–08, p. 105.

⁶ Nov. Ep. Reg., vi, fo. 30.

⁷ The descent of the Manor to this point is carefully described in Mr. Evelyn White's Rent Roll (*East Anglian*, loc. cit., p. 30). The Convent evidently came to some arrangement over the advowson with Robert de Ufford, for there is mention of two charters 'inter nos et dominum Robertum de Ufford Comitem Suffolchie super eadem advocacione' among the Butley evidences (*Ibid.*, p. 59).

Ufford the Earldom became extinct, and in the following year the advowson of Butley as a result of an inquisition held between the King and others was granted along with the Manor of Benhall to Michael de la Pole, who was steadily building up the territorial position in Suffolk which in 1385 was crowned with the grant of the Earldom.¹ After his fall the Manor was again in the King's hands, but was granted along with the advowson to the younger Michael de la Pole on his recovery of the Suffolk inheritance in 1398.² So ended apparently the Convent's claim to freedom.

William de Halesworth's priorate was, however, further marked by a spate of Papal privileges to the house, due largely to the financial necessities of the Papacy during the Great Schism. In January 1398 John Wryzth or Framyngham, one of the Canons, received the dignity of Papal Chaplain, and in July permission to hold a benefice:³ in March 1399 the same dignity was conferred on another Canon, John de Dichingham, and in December 1400 on a third Canon, John de Conyngton.⁴ The Prior had also received privileges: in January 1398 the right to use episcopal insignia, mitre, ring and pastoral staff for himself and his successors and to give solemn benediction after Mass, Vespers, and Matins, in the monastery and in parish and other churches belonging to it, provided no Bishop or Papal Legate be present.⁵ In February 1399 he received an Indult granting that his confessor might give him plenary remission as often as he pleased,⁶ and in the following month the Prior and Convent were permitted to let their manors, churches, etc., to farm to laymen or clerks devoted to the Pope and the Roman Church without obtaining leave of the ordinary.⁷ No doubt the Convent paid highly for these privileges which brought the house into closer

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1381-85, pp. 274 and 317.

² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1396-99, p. 343.

³ *Cal. Papal Registers (Papal Letters)*, iv, p. 301 and v, pp. 117 and 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 309 and 312. It is worth noting that the Augustinian Chapter passed canons and raised

funds against this practice in 1401. Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 79. I have discussed the point further in *Oxford Historical Essays dedicated to H. E. Salter*, p. 203.

⁵ *Cal. Papal Registers (Papal Letters)*, v, p. 162.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v, p. 233.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v, p. 196.

touch with Rome, and Prior William served as a Papal Mandatory in 1405.¹

He served in a more interesting capacity as one of the *diffinitores* at the Augustinian Chapter at Northampton in 1404,² an appointment the more remarkable in view of the declared policy of the Order against the obtaining of personal Papal privileges, for Butley seems to have been a conspicuous offender in this respect. Perhaps his seniority and experience was the reason, for he had been Prior of Butley for thirty years and he lived apparently for another six years.³

The election of WILLIAM RANDEWORTH (March 1410-1444) was confirmed in the Chapel of the Bishop's Palace at Norwich on 31 March 1410.⁴ He is the Prior William who appears in an Ipswich plea of 11 Hen. IV,⁵ and he received on behalf of the Convent the notable benefaction of the Manor of Chesilford, for a licence to accept which a fee of forty-five marks was paid in February 1411.⁶ The benefaction came from John Glemham and William Palmere and was intended to endow 'a chaplain regular to celebrate divine service in the chapel of St. Mary, within their church' for the good estate of the King and for his soul after death, and for the souls of Edward III, Richard II, John Staverton and his wives, his father, mother, and benefactors and to support other charges and works of piety. This seems the earliest medieval evidence for a Lady Chapel in the Priory Church.⁷ In June of the same year one of the Canons, Thomas Berghwolte, received a Papal dispensation to hold a benefice with or without cure of souls and the same privilege was obtained in March 1413 by John Bawdesey, another Canon.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, vi, p. 50.

² Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³ A slight difficulty is created by the mention of a Prior John in Ipswich Corporation Records, Petty Pleas, Tuesday after St. John ante Port. Lat. 8 Hen. IV (V.B.R.), but the name is probably a blunder. He appears nowhere else and that Randeworth directly succeeded Halesworth seems clear from an entry from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Sutton by Woodbridge, where in 12 Hen. IV it was presented that William Halysworth, late Prior, held a Close in Capel and that

* William Randeworth now is Prior'' (V.B.R.). Unfortunately the account of Randeworth's confirmation in Norwich Episcopal Registers does not mention his predecessor.

⁴ Nor. Ep. Reg., vii, fo. 27.

⁵ Ipswich Corporation Records, Petty Pleas, Thursday after St. George, 11 Hen. IV (V.B.R.).

⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1408-13, p. 277.

⁷ Some later references to the chapel will be found among the local wills. See Appendix 3 below.

⁸ *Cal. of Papal Registers (Papal Letters)*, vi, pp. 275 and 396.

Of the next thirty years of William Randeworth's Priorate nothing at all is at present known, and it is not until 1443 that another glimpse of the house is caught. In the Augustinian Chapter which met that year at Oseney a list of the forty-four greater houses which were bound to maintain students at the Universities was compiled and the defaulters duly noted and fined according to the means of the house. From this list we learn that Butley had no student at Oxford, though there was one at Cambridge, and the Convent escaped without a fine.¹

WILLIAM POLEY (August 1444–June 1483) succeeded on William Randeworth's death, shortly before August 1444, and of his confirmation as Prior there is an interesting account in the Norwich Episcopal Registers. On 20 August the Bishop's representatives, John Wygenhale, doctor of Canon Law, and principal official and Commissary to the Bishop, Nicholas Derman, bachelor of Canon Law, and Corrector and Commissary General, and John Squyer, Rector of Alderton, sat in Butley parish church to examine the formalities of the election which, we are told, had taken place by acclamation (*per viam principalissimam quasi per viam spiritus sancti*). All being correct, William Poley appeared on 24 August at the Episcopal Manor at South Elmham, where he found the Bishop of Norwich seated in the principal chamber of the house, and there took an oath to observe the Injunctions which had been made in the Bishop's first ordinary Visitation of Butley, and accepted by Randeworth, who was then Prior. We get an interesting glimpse of the personnel of the Bishop's household in the list of those who assisted at this function. The party then adjourned to the Bishop's oratory, where Wygenhale, *iudicialiter sedens*, declared Poley duly elected and confirmed, and directions for canonical installation were sent to the Archdeacon of Suffolk.²

A number of notices of Butley during this long Priorate have survived. Within a year of his election we find William Poley and the Convent leasing the

¹ Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 99.

² Nor. Ep. Reg., x, fo. 55 d. The text is printed in full below, Appendix 1. Visitations occurred normally

every six years, and reckoning back from those whose dates are known at the end of the century, Bishop Thomas Brown's (1436–46) first visitation of Butley would have occurred in 1440.

Manor of West Somerton for seven years at a rent of £24.¹ From the same year comes the first of the local wills under which the Priory benefited.² More important was the fact that in 1446 Prior William Poley acted as *diffinitor* at the Northampton Chapter of the Augustinian Order, and was also chosen to celebrate the Mass of St. Augustine in St. James' Abbey, Northampton, on the Monday morning of the Chapter meeting.³

A number of legal disputes followed. Perhaps the most important concerned the only benefice in the City of London which belonged to Butley, that of St. Stephen, Coleman Street. It was alleged that the advowson of this church had been acquired without licence between 1292 and 1323 and a Prior John was said to have been responsible. The only period within those limits into which this otherwise unknown Prior can be fitted lies, as we have seen, between the last appearance of Prior Thomas in 1290/93 and the election of Richard de Iakesle in 1303. Now we happen to have independent evidence that the advowson was already in the hands of Butley in 1303,⁴ so the date can be fixed to this decade with some certainty. In any case the Crown on the strength of this unlicensed acquisition, made an appointment to St. Stephen's by Letters Patent in 16 Hen. VI. Butley evidently protested, and in April 1449 the rights of the Priory were recognized on the ground apparently that the acquisition though unlicensed at the time was covered by a subsequent pardon. The Royal presentee was accordingly deprived of his living. But this was not quite the end of the matter for the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's put in claims, and it was not until September 1452 that the King, 'considering that the Prior is impoverished by his suit herein,' finally settled the matter in Butley's favour.⁵

Two years later the Prior seems to have been involved in two Chancery cases at once. In the first

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission. Marquis of Lothian*, p. 74.

² See below, Appendix 3, where the evidence of local wills for the later history of Butley and its popularity in the neighbourhood is summarised.

³ Salter, *op cit*, pp. 107, 108, 112.

⁴ *Munimenta Gildhallae. Liber Custumarum*, p. 237.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1446-52*, p. 234; 1452-61, p. 16; and p. 184, n. 2, above.

there is question of detention of a bond and a refusal to allow one John Brown, late of Harwich, and Elizabeth, his wife, 'their liveries within the said Priory,' as the father and mother of Prior William had, according to agreement.¹ In the second the Prior is complaining of one Robert Dunch for detention of bonds and a patent of the office of Porter in the Priory.² The House does not seem to have been in a very satisfactory state at this time, for in addition to these squabbles we find that one of the Canons, William Wolpet, or Wulpet, has need of a pardon in November 1457 for all felonies, robberies, rapes of women, and other offences committed before 20 October last and any consequent outlawries.³ A failure to comply with the Statute of Mortmain led, moreover, to the loss of a valuable benefaction: for in 1474 we find the King making a grant of the manor of Brokedishalle in Burston, Norfolk, which had come into his hands because the Prior of Butley had appropriated it without a licence.⁴ The position of the house as an important coastal landowner in East Anglia was reflected in the appointment of Prior William as a Commissioner *de Walliis et fossatis* between Harwich and Cromer in July 1478.⁵ Mention may lastly be made of the will of one John Curteler or Cutteler of Butley who in March 1480 left his body to be buried near the image of S. Christopher in the Priory Church with a substantial sum for the repair of the pavement, together with 66/8 to Prior William Poley, a similar sum to be paid in 1482 to the Convent, and 6/8 to Thomas Framlingham one of the Canons.⁶

The latter was evidently the Prior's right hand man in his later years,⁷ and on his resignation in June 1483 was elected to succeed him. The Bishop's Register recites in full the confirmation of the election by Nicholas Goldwell, Archdeacon of Sudbury, the Bishop's vicar general.⁸ It gives also the interesting

¹ P.R.O. *Lists and Indices. Early Chancery Proceedings*, i, pp. 42, 43.

² *Ibid.*, p. 228.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1452-61, p. 392.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467-77, p. 448.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1476-85, p. 112.

⁶ Archdeaconry of Suffolk, iii, fo. 5.

⁷ We find him acting, for example, in August 1482 as proctor for one John Plomer on the latter's institution to the vicarage of Boyton, a living in the gift of Butley, Nor. Ep. Reg., xii, fo. 92 d.

⁸ Nor. Ep. Reg., xii, fo. 99.

but undated document in which the Bishop after 'mature and deliberate consultation' assessed the pension to be paid to William Poley on his retirement at forty marks, and made it a first charge on the Priory's properties at Boyton and Bawdesey.¹ In the time of THOMAS FRAMLINGHAM (June 1483-1503),² it first becomes possible to trace the names and sometimes the careers of other members of the Convent besides the Prior. This is due not only to the survival of the Episcopal Visitation of 1494, about which more must be said later, but also to the notices of institutions to vicarages in Butley's appropriated churches. The Priory had a Papal privilege permitting the appointment of its members to vicarages in its gift, and in this period at any rate it seems to have made considerable use of it.³ A canon would hold an appropriated vicarage normally for a short period only, two or three years, before returning to the house. Thus John Debenham, regular Canon, was appointed to the Vicarage of Bawdesey on 9 October, 1481, and on his resignation in November 1484 was succeeded by

¹ *Ibid.*, fo. 245. It is printed below. Appendix 2, p. 214.

² There is difficulty over his dates. V.C.H. both misprints his name as Frankingham and on the strength of an authority which, being misprinted, I have not been able to trace, puts in a Prior Robert Beeches at 1497. Yet we know from Nor. Ep. Reg., xiii, fo. 9 d. (where he is mentioned in connection with a presentation to Boyton Church) that Framlingham was Prior in October 1500 and it was to fill the vacancy caused by his death that the Convent was licensed to elect a prior in August 1503. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1494-1509*, p. 308. Hawes, *op. cit.*, dates him '21 June, 1483, continued 1501,' which suggests a break in his tenure of office, but he does not mention Robert Beeches: and I have no other reference to the latter either as Prior or Canon of Butlev.

³ A Bull of Lucius III (1181-85), 'de eo quod liceat nobis facere de Canonis nostris vicarium in ecclesiis nostris' is mentioned among the 'Evidences' in Mr. Evelyn White's

Rent Roll (*East Anglian, loc. cit.*, p. 60). A distinction must of course be made between regularly instituted Canonical vicars and the much commoner practice of serving a Church direct from a monastery. Butley seems to have done both. Thus, apart from the cases quoted, one may note that there are no medieval institutions in the Episcopal Registers to Butley parish church, which can only mean that it was habitually served by Canons resident in the Priory. The instances of Canonical vicars here quoted are by no means exhaustive. Many others could certainly be found if we had anything approaching complete lists of the Canons at different periods. The mention in the Butlev Bidding Prayer, which was certainly intended for parochial use of 'them that haue be pryours and chanownys of the howse of Butley, specyaly for the sowlys of them that haue hadd cure and charge of yowre sowlys, with the sowlys of othyr prestis and clerkis that haue servyd in thys chyrche' (*East Anglian, loc. cit.*, p. 29), is appropriate to both practices.

Robert Glemham *canonicus in ordine sacerdotali*.¹ On 26 July 1483, in an institution to Upton Vicarage, we have mention of the Subprior, William Gorveys, who was acting head of the Convent during the vacancy which had just been filled by Framlingham's election.² In October 1485, Robert Buttle, *canonicus presbiter*, was instituted to the vicarage of Fynbergh Magna.³ In 1489 the Prior was appointed by the Bishop of Norwich as Collector of the clerical subsidy in the archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury,⁴ and in the same year he acted as supervisor of the wills of two local laymen, John Rippes⁵ and John Marriott, both of Butley, the latter of whom desired 'to be made a brother of the chapterhouse of Butlie.'⁶ In 1493 Prior Thomas appears in an Ipswich suit against one John Chappew,⁷ but the most interesting event of his Priorate to the present day student was the Episcopal Visitation of Butley in July 1494, the first of a series of Visitations whose surviving records throw much light on the last forty years of the Convent's life.⁸

The Visitation of 1494 was conducted by Bishop Goldwell and the complaints related mainly to the conduct of the Prior himself. The Canons had granted the Prior part of their *stipendia* for the benefit of the house and are asking for its restitution: he is arbitrary in the infliction of punishments, and takes away for small offences the right of each Canon to a private room: he receives too many of his relatives and friends as guests of the house: he does not produce the

¹ Nor. Ep. Reg., xii, fo. 85 d. and 111 d. This is probably the John Debenham who was '*podagra cruciatus*' at the Visitation of 1526, and '*magister noviciorum*' at that of 1532, when he must have been well over seventy. He was probably dead before the dissolution of 1538. We have no other mention of Robert Glemham.

² Nor. Ep. Reg., xii, fo. 101. He does not appear again.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 117 d. He also is otherwise unknown.

⁴ *Materials for the History of Henry VII* (Rolls Series) ii, p. 425.

⁵ Archdeaconry of Suffolk, iii, fo. 90.

⁶ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 20 Milles. There are several of these posthumous fraternities among the local wills. See below Appendix 3, p. 215.

⁷ Ipswich Corporation Records. General Court Book, 9-12, Hen. VII. Thursday before S. Thos. Martyr, 9 Hen. VII (V.B.R.).

⁸ The Visitations of 1494, 1514, 1520, 1526 and 1532 have been printed by A. Jessopp, *Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich, 1492-1532* (Camden Society, 1888), at pp. 53-55, 131-33, 177-79, 216-18, 285-89.

accounts before the brethren and has no Cellarer or any other of the usual office holders who should know the financial position and be able to act when he is ill.¹ The only general complaints were that the Infirmary utensils ought to be restored to their proper use, and that the Canons have no preceptor to teach them grammar. The Bishop adjourned the Visitation without making any injunctions at the moment, so that the complaints cannot have been regarded as very serious. The personnel of the Convent at the time consisted of fourteen Canons and the Prior: and, though others, such as John Debenham, were probably away in country vicarages, yet it is remarkable that only two of those mentioned in 1494 occur in the lists of 1514 or later.² The early years of the sixteenth century must have seen many changes among the brethren.

There were several changes, too, in the Priorate. Thomas Framlingham may have been temporarily superseded in 1497,³ but he was Prior again by 1500, and continued so till his death before August, 1503, when the Convent received a licence to elect his successor.⁴ The choice was EDMUND LYCHEFELD (August 1503–December 1504),⁵ titular Bishop of Chalcedon and suffragan to the Bishop of Norwich. It was the first occasion of which we have knowledge that the Prior was not before his election a Canon of Butley and, though we have no details, it is probable

¹ The Cellarer was evidently the most important official at Butley after the Subprior. He is the only official other than the Prior and Subprior to be named at the Visitation of 1514, and on the only two occasions when we are told the office previously held by a newly-elected Prior, we learn that he had been Cellarer (William de Geytone, 1311, and Thomas Sudborne, 1528). The other offices we know at Butley are those of Refectorius, Sacrist, combined with either Praeceptor (1532) or Succentor (1526), a practice discouraged by the Bishops, Third Prior, Subsacrist, and Magister Noviciorum.

² These are William Woodbridge, of whom more presently, and Thomas Orford. Three others, at least, John Denston, Walter Bawdesey, and John Mendham, were still alive in 1504, as we know from William Pakeman's Will, and of these John Mendham was still Canon in 1510 (will of John Ellis of Butley, see Appendix 3, p. 217, no. 12).

³ See p. 198, n. 2.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1494–1509, p. 308.

⁵ His name and date are subject to various errors in the authorities. V.C.H. quoting from Tanner's MSS. at Norwich calls him Lydefield, while R. Day (*op. cit.*) calls him Edward Lychefield; both date his accession 1504.

that the appointment was due, as were so many of its successors, to outside influences. In this short priorate two events only need be noted: one is the admission of William Wethirfelde, a Canon otherwise unknown, to the vicarage of Bawdesey on 17 September, 1503,¹ and the other was the death of William Pakeman, described as Yeoman, of Butley, whose will dated 4 August and proved 13 August, 1504, was long remembered at Butley.² Probably he was one of the 'Yeoman-waiters,'³ of whom there were eight at the Dissolution: he was at any rate living at the Priory, was apparently celibate and, being a man of substance, left all his possessions to the house and its inmates. Prior Edmund, the Subprior William Woodbridge, and four other Canons receive specific legacies: every Canon in priest's orders is to have two shillings and a silver spoon, every Novice twelve pence and a silver spoon is left between every two of them. Bequests are made for the use of the 'Vestiary,' 'Our Lady awtor,' the Refectory and the Infirmary, and the residuary legatees and executors were the Subprior and four Canons.

Prior Edmund was dead by December 1504, when the Subprior and Convent received licence to elect a successor,⁴ but there seems to have been considerable delay, for we hear nothing more until July 1506, when the temporalities were restored to ROBERT BREMOR or BROMMER (July, 1506,—before June, 1509), who may also have been an outsider, for his name is not among the Canons of this period whom we know from other sources.⁵ The only notable event of this priorate was the grant to the Convent in frankalmoin by Henry VII of the Church and monastery of

¹ Nor. Ep. Reg., xiii, fo. 9 d. He resigned the vicarage before 27 July, 1505, when a successor, apparently not a Canon, was appointed. *Ibid.*, fo. 55 d.

² It is printed in full below, Appendix 3, p. 218: Henry Baret left his body in 1516 to be buried next to William Pakeman; a bequest of the latter to the Infirmary was mentioned twenty-eight years after his death at the Visitation of 1532.

³ They were the highest class of servants. Henry Baret makes a distinction in his Will between the servants who were Yeomen and receive fourpence each, and those who were not and receive only twopence.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1494-1509, p. 391.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 466. His succession is elsewhere (Day, V.C.H., etc.) dated 1508, on what grounds I have not been able to determine. The reference given by V.C.H. does not mention the date at all.

St. Mary, Snape, and its properties.¹ This benefaction which sufficed to put Henry VII on the benefactors' list seems to have been a bad bargain, for the Priory of Snape had previously been dependent on St. John's, Colchester, and so much trouble ensued that Butley surrendered its interest in the following year. The Priory became financially indebted to the Crown at this time and possibly in connection with the same matter,² but we have no further details except that Prior Robert committed suicide early in 1509, an event without parallel in the history of the house.³ The confusion caused by his death must have led to the non-attendance of a representative from Butley at the Augustinian Chapter which assembled at Leicester in the quindene of Trinity, 1509, and the Convent was fined forty shillings in consequence.⁴

A good illustration of outside interference in monastic affairs followed. A conge d'elire to the Subprior and Canons was issued on 29 June, 1509:⁵ they met on 13 or 14 July, elected the Subprior, William Woodbridge, and despatched a petition for the Royal assent, which was duly issued on 23 July.⁶ William Woodbridge, so far as we can gather, was well qualified for the post: he had been a Canon for at least fifteen years, and Subprior for at least five: no serious charges are made against him in the Visitations, and from local wills one would gather that he was a conspicuous

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 675. It is curious that this event, of very transitory importance in Butley's history, should receive such prominence in earlier accounts. In Buck's view of 1738, for example, it is the only event mentioned at all (see Pl. I).

The Convent appears in a list of those under obligation to the Crown, 1 June, 1509. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, p. 1483. Prior Robert was 'bound to the King deceased (Henry VII) and for none payment put in suit in the second year of the present King,' *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, no. 1639, p. 242. We have also, dated 2 December, 3 Hen. VIII, a discharge by Augustine, Prior of Butley, to the executors of Henry VII for all 'injuries and wrongs' committed against the house. Nor. Ep.

Reg. Tanner's Index 'from the Cartulary of Butley temp. A. Ryvers.' On this see p. 203, n. 4. The Prior was indebted to the Crown still in November, 1512. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, no. 3497, p. 434.

³ Hawes, *op. cit.*, p. 367, adds that on account of his suicide 'by Order from the Bishop his Body was dug up and cast out of the Parish Church-yard, the Canons having first interred him there, and was buried in the Highway leading to Hausen-street.' I have not identified this spot: The Hawsins were a Butley family: will of Robert Hawsin. Archdeaconry of Suffolk, ii (1458-77), fo. 346.

⁴ Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, no. 233, p. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 325, p. 44.

member of the Convent.¹ But the Bishop of Norwich had other plans. On 7 September he cancelled the election of Woodbridge and appointed AUGUSTINE RIVERS (September 1509–1528), the Prior of Woodbridge, in his place. He wrote at the same time to the Archdeacon of Suffolk to perform the installation, to the Subprior and Convent demanding their canonical obedience to the new Prior and himself,² and to the King for his assent, which was obtained on 11 December.³

Augustine Rivers' period of office is well known from the three Visitations of 1514, 1520 and 1526,⁴ and it is clear that in spite of the circumstances of his election, there was little ill-feeling in the house. The Prior was popular and did much to put the finances in order, and the buildings, of whose ruinous condition there are constant complaints, in repair.⁵ In 1514

¹ The only criticisms are that he was negligent in coming to divine service in 1514, and in 1532 had abstracted certain bequests of W. Pakeman from the use to which they had been left. The complainant was the same Canon James Denyngton, on each occasion, and the Bishop paid no attention to either. Woodbridge witnessed a Capel will in 1508, a Butley will in 1510 and was executor to the two most important benefactors of Butley, W. Pakeman in 1504 and Henry Baret in 1516. See Appendix 3. Mr. F. G. Rendall has drawn my attention to a copy of Alexander of Hales's Commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, printed at Oxford, 1481, now in the British Museum, which belonged to Woodbridge. It bears the inscription: 'pertinet ad fratrem Willelmum Wodebrighe Suppriorum de Butteley. pro cuius statu bono humiliter supplica deo.'

² Nor. Ep. Reg. xiv, 90.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, no. 746, p. 105.

⁴ We should know much more if the 'Cartulary or Chronicle' mentioned by Tanner (*Notitia Monastica*, ed. Nasmyth, 1787, s.v. Butley) could be found. This work, which runs from 1509–1536 is a paper MS. of 72 pages and belonged in Tanner's time to Peter Le Neve. Extracts from it in Le Neve's hand relating to

the second and third Dukes of Norfolk are preserved at Norfolk House, and I have to thank Miss Redstone for drawing my attention to these, and kindly supplying me with copies, three of which are printed here. Appendix 4. Some further extracts are paraphrased in an article by Rev. E. Farrer on Westhorpe Manor in *East Anglian Miscellany*, for 1913 and 1914, but the statement there made that the Chronicle is in the Bodleian Library appears to be incorrect, and Mr. Farrer has not been able to tell me the source of his extracts. The chronicle seems to have combined the notice of public events with picturesque and intimate detail of affairs in the Priory, and it is much to be hoped that its present whereabouts will come to light. Miss Redstone told me that it was sold in 1777 at Mr. Ives' sale at Great Yarmouth; this is the last that is known of it.

⁵ In 1514 the house had debts of £70 to William of Capel, and £20 to the Bishop; in 1520 the debt had been reduced to 40/-: in 1532 the Subprior said that there was no debt so far as he knew. In 1514 Richard Wilton, the cellarer, said that the Prior was 'industriosus' and had spent personally in the five years since his appointment, a hundred marks on repairs to the buildings, granges and manors.

there was very little wrong. One Canon, Reginald Westerfeild, was alleged to have called the junior brethren 'horsesons'¹ and received a caution from the Bishop; and the choir books were out of repair. John Thetford² had been away at the University, where he had proceeded bachelor of Canon Law, and on his suggestion the Bishop enjoined that Thomas Orford who was *bonus grammatista et deditus litteris* should also be sent, as his friends were prepared to support him.³ In 1520, though the debt had been reduced, the complaints were more vigorous, and centred mainly on two points, the absence of an Infirmary,⁴ and the badness of the food, which on general agreement was the fault of the Cellarer, William Melford. It was also stated that there was no scholar at the University, that the choir books were still out of repair, and that 'the church is ruinous and defective in the roof, and it rains in the Refectory.' The atmosphere seems distinctly less happy than in 1514, though apart from trouble with the fabric, the result of earlier overbuilding, there is nothing radically

¹ He received a bequest of 3/4 from Henry Baret in 1516, was described in a Gedgrave will of 1518 as 'parish priest there,' complained of the food at the Visitations of 1520 and 1532, but was not present at that of 1526, though he signed the letter to Wolsey of 1529 (Appendix 5), and was still Canon in 1538. He professed to suffer in 1532 from a disease which made attendance at Matins dangerous! He does not seem to have held any office.

² He does not appear later at Butley, and became Prior of Thetford from 1519 to 1534, and Prior of Holy Trinity, Ipswich, 1534-37. V.C.H., *Suffolk*, ii, pp. 104, 105, 110, 111. As Prior of Thetford he gave to Butley about 1534 the comb of St. Thomas of Canterbury, a silver box full of other relics, and two chalices, one for the Chapel of All Saints, and one for that of St. Sigismund in the Priory Church. V.C.H. but the reference is misprinted. Thetford's benefaction is dated 1519, in the List of Benefactors. Taylor, *Index Monasticus* (1821), p. 94, see also Appendix 8.

³ Orford does not seem to have been the bright young student one imagines for he had been a Canon since at least 1494. He was back again at Butley in 1520, and at the 1526 Visitation being '*vexatus morbo gallorum*' he produced a licence from Cardinal Wolsey to retire from the religious life.

⁴ It is hardly possible to take this statement literally, especially in view of W. Pakeman's bequests to the use of the Infirmary, which would hardly have been made if one had not existed. It would appear, however, that at Butley there was no Official in charge, and when money was short, the easiest economy was to shut down the Infirmary establishment and make sick brethren provide for themselves. This is a subject of complaint in 1526 by Henry Bassingbourne, and more specifically in 1532 by John Norwiche. The Bishop's injunctions in 1520, 1526, and 1532 all contain provisions for a proper Infirmary establishment, but nothing seems to have been done, unless the 'new hall' of Henry Baret's will was an infirmary hall.

wrong. Only eleven Canons were present, and the Bishop among other Injunctions, urged that more recruits should be obtained. In 1526 the numbers are up to fifteen, but the old complaints are still being made. 'The church is ruinous in the leadwork of the roof' and 'it rains in several places inside': the rood-beam is decayed for the same reason. There is no scholar at the University, the books and vestments are still out of repair, and,—a fresh trouble—'the water which used to flush and cleanse the drain in the dormitory needs reformation.'¹ Though Robert Chippenham, the Refectorius,² pays a tribute to the Prior's ability, two of the Canons have small complaints to make of his conduct.³

Butley in the time of Augustine Rivers seems to have been a favourite resort of the nobility and gentry of East Anglia. Staverton Forest, the wild country between Melton and Hollesley, and the salt marshes by the sea, provided excellent sport, and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Lord Willoughby who owned properties bordering on those of the Priory at Bawdesey, were frequently entertained. Still more frequent were the visits of Mary Tudor, Henry VIII's younger sister, the widowed Queen of France, now the Duke of Suffolk's wife. Her first recorded stay at Butley was in 1515-16 when she dated a letter to Wolsey there on 28 September.⁴ She was apparently there again in the autumn of 1518, when her husband dated a letter to Wolsey from Butley on 23 September.⁵ A year later she wrote herself to Wolsey from Butley on 28 September, 1519,⁶ and in 1527 she is said to have stayed in the Priory for two months with her husband. On 6 August as it was very hot, 'she

¹ This drain was found in the sub-structure of the dormitory during the excavation, see p. 256.

² Robert Chippenham first appears in 1514, was not present in 1520, was Refectorius in 1526, signed the letter to Wolsey in 1529, and is noted as being forty-six years old in 1532, so he was born in 1486. He was still a member of the house at the Dissolution in 1538. He witnessed four Butley wills: one each in 1518 and 1531, and two in 1533.

³ One of these, John Norwyche, seems to have been hostile to the Prior all through. He complained in 1520 that the latter had tried to get hold of £3 of his, and in 1526 that he gave no annual account; he repeated this as Third Prior under Sudborne in 1532.

⁴ P.R.O. S.P. i/19, fo. 85. (V.B.R.)

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, no. 4448, p. 1,367.

⁶ *Ibid*, iii, Pt. 1, no. 455, p. 160.

ordered her supper to be laid out in a shady part of the garden at the eastern side of the house.' This was very successful, and she had picnic suppers on several occasions in one or other of the little gardens belonging to the brethren. On 21 August, however, while in Brother Nicholas' garden,¹ the Royal party was overtaken by a storm and hastily retreated into the church. Mary seems to have been fond of picnics. On June, 1528, we are told that she and her husband rode to Staverton for a fox-hunt and dined there under the oaks.²

Staverton Park had been leased to the Prior and Convent for fifty years by Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk in 8 Hen. VIII,³ and it was sold to the Convent by the third Duke on 24 February, 1529.⁴ There is an account preserved of the funeral of the second Duke of Norfolk at Thetford on 22 June, 1524, at which Prior Augustine Rivers took a prominent part, celebrating the Mass of St. Mary *pontificalibus insignitus* and assisting at that *pro defunctis*, which was celebrated by the Bishop of Ely.⁵ He was probably accompanied by Dionysius Rychemont, Canon and Praecentor of Butley.⁶ The third Duke of Norfolk, Lord Willoughby, and others were at Butley, fox-hunting on 16 September, 1526, and were accompanied to the chase by Prior Augustine.⁷ The Duke was at Butley

¹ Nicholas Oxburgh became Canon soon before 1514, was deacon in 1520, held the offices of Sacrist and Succentor in 1526, signed the letter to Wolsey in 1529 (Appendix 5), and was Cellarer in 1532. He witnessed a Boyton will in 1529, and is probably identical with the Nicholas Palmer who, as Cellarer, witnessed the will of William Hubberd of Culford in 1535 (Archdeaconry of Sudbury, xiii, fo. 258, V.B.R.). He was still Canon at the Dissolution in 1538, and later became Rector of Sternfield, Suffolk; he probably died before 1546, see Appendix 7.

² E. Farrer, *op. cit.*, see p. 203, n. 4.

³ Indenture from 'Reg. Butley, fo. 25' in the Howard Papers at Norfolk House (Folder relating to the second Duke), dated 6 February, 8 Hen. VIII. This and the following

six notes are from Le Neve's extracts, see p. 203, n. 4.

⁴ Norfolk House: Howard Papers: Box 8, iii, from 'Reg. Butley, fo. 52 B.'

⁵ Printed in App. 4 from 'Reg. Butley, fo. 38.' Howard Papers. (Folder relating to the second Duke).

⁶ The Epistle at the Mass of St. Mary was read by 'Domino Dionisio suo languico' (sic). The last word should probably be 'canonico.' Dionysius Rychemont was sub-deacon in 1514, Priest in 1520, and Praecentor in 1526. If he already held that office in 1524 he would be the most likely person to assist the Prior. He is certainly the Dionysius Metcalf of the letter to Wolsey of 1529 (Appendix 5).

⁷ Howard Papers. Box 8, iii, from 'Reg. Butley, fo. 46 B,' see Appendix 4.

again on the 6 March, 1527 to dinner and he stayed the night,¹ and on 23 July, 1529, he came again with the Earl of Surrey, his son, and twenty-four servants: we are told that they had supper at 10 p.m.²

One further document of Augustine Rivers' time should be noted, namely the will of Henry Baret of Butley, 'servant to Master Pryor ther,' which was dated 8 January, 1516.³ Baret belonged to the same class as W. Pakeman from whom he received a bequest, and he left his body to be buried next to that of his friend. He too left all his property to the Priory and its inmates, and though there are few specific legacies of importance, his will is more interesting for its topographical details than Pakeman's, owing to bequests for glazing the 'sowthe Wyndows of the newe halle,' 'for glasyng and Whytyng off the Refectory ther off both sydys,' and 'to the making off Butley brygge.'

Augustine Rivers received a licence to acquire lands, etc., worth ten marks a year on 17 February, 1528,⁴ probably in view of the acquisition of Staverton Park from the Duke of Norfolk, which was completed, as we have seen, just over a year later, but by the end of 1528 he was dead.⁵ Interference of a different kind marked the election of his successor.

On 10 January, 1529, a letter was despatched to Wolsey signed by William, the Subprior, and ten other

¹ *Ibid.*, from 'Reg. Butley, fo. 50.'

² *Ibid.*, from 'Reg. Butley, fo. 52 B.'

³ Printed below, Appendix 3, from Archdeaconry of Suffolk, vii, fo. 182.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, Pt. 2, no. 3991 (17), p. 1774.

⁵ A difficulty arises over the precise date. Hawes, followed by Day and V.C.H., places the appointment of his successor in February, 1528, and Hawes adds that Augustine Rivers died 24 September, 1528. Thomas Sudborne, however, actually succeeded in February, 1529 (see p. 208) and Rivers was certainly dead by January 1529 (Appendix 5). We know also that the Prior of Butley, who must have been Rivers, attended a function at Wolsey's College at Ipswich on 8 September, 1528, which was described by the Dean of

the College in a letter to Wolsey on 26 September without any note of the Prior's subsequent death (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, Pt. 2, no. 4778, p. 2071). But this need not raise doubts of Hawes' date for his death though he certainly is a year wrong over that of Manning's appointment. There is also a conflict of testimony over Rivers' place of burial, Hawes stating that it was before the High Altar of the Priory Church, while Browne Willis, *History of Abbies* (1719), ii, 222, places it in the Chapel of St. Anne. Browne Willis here quotes from Tanner's Collections, and as we have seen (p. 203, n. 4), Tanner had access to the Butley Chronicle (1509-36), which would hardly have missed the opportunity for an account of the funeral of 'our . . . dere Maister and ffader . . . late departed.'

Canons, the last of whom, Thomas Yppisswyche, wrote it, stating that they have compromitted the election of a Prior into his hands and recommend Thomas Sudborne,¹ whom they had intended to elect unanimously as 'a person for that office in our opynion right hable and most conveyent.' More light is thrown on the matter by a letter to Wolsey from the Bishop of Norwich, dated 12 January, 1529, in which he says that the election service was already in progress when Wolsey's letters of inhibition and sequestration arrived, which caused the convent to defer the election, and they have now compromitted it into his hands. The Bishop repeats that the Convent would have chosen Thomas Sudborne, their Cellarer, unanimously (*per viam spiritus sancti*), and recommends him to Wolsey's favour.²

These representations were sufficient to induce Wolsey to appoint the choice of the Convent, and THOMAS SUDBORNE or SUDBURY or MANNING (February 1529–1 March, 1538) became last Prior of Butley in February 1529. He had been a Canon of the house since at least 1514, had received a bequest for masses which suggests that he was serving Butley parish church in 1521,³ and from at least 1526 to the time of his election had been Cellarer. The Subprior at the Visitation of 1532 described him as *politicus et circumspectus*, and all that we know of him certainly bears out the judgment. Most of our information comes indeed from his correspondence with Royal ministers, especially with Cromwell, and it is clear that the Prior was concerned to keep himself in close touch with Royal policy, which was now swinging under Cromwell's guidance towards an attack on the very existence of the monasteries. And if he could not divert the attack from Butley he could at least

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, Pt. 3, no. 5158, p. 2268, printed below (Appendix 5). Thomas Yppisswyche had a talent for letter-writing. It was revealed at the 1532 Visitation that he had forged letters in the Prior's name to the Bishop of Norwich, whereby another Canon had fraudulently obtained Priest's Orders! Wolsey's behaviour over this election

was typical of his treatment of monastic houses: see A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (1929), p. 201.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv., Pt. 3, Appendix 530, p. 3177, from Harl. MS. 604. fol. 55.

³ Archdeaconry of Suffolk, viii, fo. 209, John Blanchflower of Gedgrave.

see to it that when the blow fell the Prior should be well provided for elsewhere. Within six months of his election we find that Butley already figures in a list of debtors 'to me Thomas Cromwell,'¹ and that the Prior had been instituted to the vicarage of the neighbouring parish of Chesilford.² He does not seem to have attended the famous Convocation of 1529, being represented by the Prior of Walsingham.³

In 1532 occurred the last Episcopal Visitation of Butley before its Dissolution, when the Prior and fifteen Canons, four of whom were recruits since the last Visitation, were examined by Bishop Nicke of Norwich. Most of the old complaints recur: the Infirmary is still unsatisfactorily organized: the choir books are out of repair: the food is bad: the lead roof of the Presbytery *patitur ruinam*, and so does that of 'both porches' (transepts?): the ceiling of the Chapterhouse is *deformis*, and the Refectory is so cold, especially in winter, that the brethren get gout and *alias gelidas infirmitates*. The Bishop in the course of a long list of Injunctions endeavoured to meet the last point by ordering the provision of stools for the feet and apparently panelling of some kind for the walls. There is a general feeling that the Prior is too autocratic: he keeps the receipts of the several offices in his own hands, and produces no accounts to the elder brethren, his drink is better in quality than theirs and his servants despise the Canons. Thomas Gipswicke complains pathetically that the brethren quarrel among themselves *et quasi nulla caritas inter eos*; but our sympathy is damped when he admits in the same breath that it was he who forged the letters whereby Thomas Woodbridge had fraudulently obtained Priest's Orders, and it is remarkable that the Bishop's Injunctions have nothing to say on this serious breach of common honesty and ecclesiastical discipline. There is, in fact, an obvious lowering of standards, and a noticeable lack of purpose and enthusiasm among this group of rather futile and querulous old men which goes

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, iv, Pt. 3, no. 5330.

² *Nor. Ep. Reg.*, xvii, fo. 9.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, iv, Pt. 3, no. 6047, p. 2699.

far to explain the ease with which the monasteries of England were so soon to fall before the vigorous economic enterprise of the successful middle classes.

The Prior at any rate tried to keep in with Cromwell. We find him supplying the latter with information about a dispute over lands in Bawdesey in July 1532,¹ and in March 1536 he received his reward and was appointed Bishop Suffragan of Ipswich, assistant to the Bishop of Norwich, his name and that of the Abbot of Leiston having been put forward by the Bishop.² The Northern Rebellion broke out in the same year, and the Prior is found in October in a list of 'Gentlemen appointed by the King to abide in their countries to keep good order in the absence of the rest of the noblemen'³ who had been ordered off to suppress it. There was apparently some feeling for the insurgents at Butley, for a mysterious reference in a letter from Sir Thomas Russhe to Cromwell, dated Ipswich, 23 December, 1536, to 'matter against my lord suffragan prior of Butley . . . for concealing treason of a canon of Butley'⁴ is clearly connected with the present of 'two fat swans, three pheasant cocks, three pheasant hens, and one dozen partridges' which was despatched by the Prior as a 'remembrance' to Cromwell four days later. The accompanying letter refers to the Prior's desire to obtain 'the King's confirmation for my poor house,' and mentions that 'divers of my lord of Suffolk's council were at Butley last week, and were more busier with me because they said I could not get my confirmation. I replied that with the King's favour I would never resign it.'⁵

This spirited reply did more credit to the Prior's

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, no. 1153, p. 512.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, no. 597 (7), p. 237. A fee of £3 6s. 8d. paid to Cromwell by the Prior, 20 April, 1536, is probably a 'consideration' for this. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, Appendix 16, p. 597.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, no. 580 (4), p. 235.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 1357, p. 543.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 1377, p. 549. The swans may have come from the

Prior's Swanmark. I owe this reference to Mr. E. R. Cooper, F.S.A., Ticehurst, *Birds of Suffolk*, p. 264. The Duke of Suffolk was clearly angling for the succession to Butley's estates on its expected Dissolution. That he was promised and indeed actually obtained a grant of them may be seen from *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, Pt. 1, no. 642, p. 239, and Pt. 2, no. 1269, p. 522, but the Duke of Norfolk actually received the properties in 1540.

hopes than to his performance. In March 1537 we find him 'so vexed with a fervent ague' that he either could not or would not repair immediately to Cromwell 'for certain causes which I shall know at my coming.'¹ In November he wrote an unctuous and grovelling letter to Wriothesly, promising to do for him what he would do for no one else,² but the fate of the Priory was sealed. On 1 March, 1538, the house with all its lands and properties was surrendered,³ and the deed was signed by Thomas Manning and eight of the twelve Canons in residence. A list of the household drawn up the same day shows that the Priory was the centre of a community of no less than eighty-four persons, and must have been farming most of the adjacent properties itself.⁴ Two letters both characteristic of their authors, were despatched the same evening to Cromwell. One was from William Petre the Commissioner who had received the surrender. It ran: 'Ryght Worshipfull—We have to-day received the surrender of Butley, to which the Convent has assented very quietly. It is the best leaded house that I have seen. The lead is worth £1,000 but there is no other riches but cattle.'⁵ The other was from Thomas, no longer Prior of Butley, but still Suffragan of Ipswich.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, Pt. 1, no. 645, p. 287.

² *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, no. 1050, p. 367.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, Pt. 1, no. 394, p. 149.

⁴ *Ibid.* Apart from the twelve named Canons, of whom five had been in the Priory for at least twenty-four years and three others for at least twelve, the household consisted of two chaplains, an understeward, a surveyor, and eight yeomen-waiters, all of whom are named: In pantry and buttery three, a barber, a master of the children and seven children kept of alms to learning: three in the kitchen, a slaughterman, two sheep-reeves, a clerk in the church, two housekeepers, a cooper, five keepers of 'the scalbote, hevyngebote, ferry and weirs': a smith, two warreners, three bakers and brewers, two maltsters, a porter, a keeper of the gardens and ponds, six women in

the dairy and laundry, twelve for husbandry, five carters, three shepherds, two woodmakers, a keeper of the swine, two wrights for making and mending ploughs and carts, two for making candles and keeping the fish-house, and two 'beadmen being impotent.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 393, p. 149. The absence of roof-tiles or their fragments from all parts of the site during excavation suggests that most of the buildings were roofed with lead. There was also a good deal of lead piping. That the Convent's farming was not confined to cattle-raising may be seen from the '80 quarters of wheat in the solers of the late monastery of Butleighe' in Woodbridge, which were intended to be conveyed to Spain in a Spanish ship of forty tons, mentioned in a letter of 6 March, 1538, from the Town of Woodbridge to Cromwell. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, Pt. 1, no. 432, p. 159.

It accompanied a modest present of six pheasant cocks and three 'herynsuys' and begged his favour 'for the assurance of my yerly pensyon.'¹

We need not follow the story either of the Bishop or of the buildings of the 'late monastery of Butleighe' further, for both have been adequately described elsewhere. The former added the Wardenship of Mettingham College to his other preferments, while the latter, after brief tenures by the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk in succession, passed in November 1544 to the hands of William Forthe of Hadleigh for £910 2s. 3d. and were used during the next three centuries as a quarry for building stone and road metal by the neighbouring landowners and farmers. One may indeed fitly end the history of Butley Priory with the fatalistic moralising of Robert Hawes:

'... the Time of its Dissolution was come, wherein One Stone should scarcely be left upon another, for Houses as well as their Inhabitants flourish for a Time. As there is a Time to be born and a Time to die, so there is a Time to build up and a Time to break down. All sublunary Things are but as a Vapour, which appeareth for a Little Time, and then vanisheth away.'²

NOTE

No attempt has been made in the preceding sketch to modernise the spelling of East Anglian place names or to identify them in cases of doubt. They are given as spelt in the sources to which reference is made in the notes.

¹ *Ibid.*, no. 395, p. 149.

² Hawes, *op cit.*, p. 367.

APPENDIX 1

The election of Prior WILLIAM POLEY (1444-1483). From Nor. Ep. Reg., x, fol. 55 d. (See p. 195.)

Item die xx mensis Augusti anno domini suprascripto (1444) in ecclesia parochiali de Buttele Norwicensis diocesis magister Johannes Wygenhale decretorum doctor, reverendi in Christo patris et domini domini Thome dei gracia Norwicensis episcopi officialis principalis et commissarius, una cum magistro Nicholao Derman in decretis bacallario, dicti reverendi in Christo patris correctore et commissario generali, ac Johanni Squyer' ecclesie parochialis de Alderton rectore collegis suis in hac parte ad infrascripta specialiter deputatis, auctoritate dicti patris in negotio eleccionis de religioso viro fratre Willelmo Poley ecclesie regularis sive prioratus de Buttele ordinis sancti Augusti (sic) Norwicensis diocesis per mortem fratris Willelmi Randeworth ultimi prioris eiusdem vacantis in priorem dicte ecclesie canonice electo facte, legitime procedens: auditis examinatis et discussis meritis eleccionis memorate et per ipsum commissarium, et coram eo, negotio eleccionis huius sufficienter examinato et plenarie discussio: Quia prefatus commissarius invenit, ut asseruit, dictam eleccionem de prefato fratre Willelmo Poley electo predicto viro provido idoneo et discreto per viam principalissimam quasi per viam spiritus sancti celebratam, nichilque obviare, prout asseruit, de canonicis institutis, ipsam canonice confirmavit ac curam, regimen et administracionem eiusdem ecclesie sive prioratus de Buttele in spiritualibus et temporalibus eidem dicto fratri Willelmo Poley electo predicto commisit, defectus si qui in eodem eleccionis negotio fuit (sic) supplendo, prout de facto supplavit iudicialiter et in scriptis.

Postmodum vero die vicesima quarta dicti mensis Augusti, coram dicto reverendo patre et domino Thoma dei gracia Norwicense episcopo in principali camera manerii sui de Southelham sedente, comparuit personaliter dictus frater Willelmus Poley electus confirmatus predictus qui ad sacra dei evangelia tacta corporaliter per eundem iuramentum prestitit corporale de admittendo et inviolabiliter observando omnes iniunctiones per dictum reverendum patrem in eius prima visitacione ordinaria in dicto prioratu *actualiter exercita priori qui pro tempore fuit* dicti prioratus et eiusdem loci conventui in domo capitulari dicti prioratus factas et in scriptis redactas ac sigillo ipsius reverendi patris traditas inviolabiliter observandas. Quas quidam (sic) iniunctiones predictas frater Willelmus Randeworth tunc prior modo defunctus ac omnes canonici sui admiserunt pariter et acceptarunt. Et ultimus prefatus Willelmus Poley electus confirmatus iuravit ad sacra evangelia suprascripta de plene, fideliter et debite perficiendo et adimplendo, coram discretis viris magistris Johanne Wygenhale decretorum

* . . . * This phrase has been repeated in error.

doctore, Nicholao Derman, et aliis commissariis dicti reverendi patris in hac parte specialiter deputatis, prout in instrumentis publicis inde confectis plenius continetur, presentibus in prestacione dicti iuramenti Thoma Brews, et Johanne Belly armigeris, Johanne Warner, et Nicholao Stanton rectore ecclesie de Harleston, ac Roberto Chalers et aliis. Quibus rite peractis, prefatus magister Johannes Wygenhale, commissarius prenomminatus, in oratorio dicti reverendi patris ibidem iudicialiter sedens, decrevit dictum fratrem Willelmum Poley electum et confirmatum predictum in corporalem possessionem dicte ecclesie, sive prioratus de Buttele per archidiaconum Suff' vel eius Officialem prout moris est, canonicè installari.

APPENDIX 2

Prior William Poley's Pension. From Nor. Ep. Reg, xii, fo. 245.
LITTERA PENSIONIS PRIORIS DE BUTLEY

Jacobus dei et apostolice sedis gracia episcopus Norwicensis universis etc. . . . Cum iamdudum magister Willelmus Poley tunc prior prioratus de B nostre diocesis et iurisdictionis Norwicensis ex certis et rationabilibus causis commonentibus ius et titulum quod in dicto prioratu habuit in manus nostras pure et sponte resignavit ac ab eisdem iure et titulo recessit, cuius pretextu auctoritate nostra decretum exiit dictum prioratum de B vacare ac canonicos ibidem professos rite et legitime ad eleccionem novi prioris posse procedere : Cumque statuto die eleccionis faciende in domo capitulari prioratus predicti magister Thomas Framyngham canonicus ac ibidem professus electus fuisset, ceterisque in negocio eleccionis solemniter actis, cepimus de pensione honesta tractare, qua magister Willelmus Poley nuper prior vitam suam honestius transfigere posset. Unde post longum et diutum (sic) tractatum maturo et deliberato concilio cum consensu omnium quorum interest processimus sicut eciam tenore presencium procedimus ad firmandum et taxandum dictam pensionem in hunc modum. In primis taxamus pensionem dicti W. nuper prioris ad xl marcas quam assignavimus et assignamus dicto magistro W. ad terminum vite sue percipiendam de maneriis de Boyton et Bawdesey sub formis sequentibus viz. quod prefatus dudum prior omnia pertinencia fructus ac emolumenta ad manerium de Boyton integre ac sine diminucione percipiat, que ad summam xv librarum estimamus. Residuum vero quod deest de quadraginta marcis volumus dictum magistrum W. Poley percipere de manerio de Bawdesey annuatim quoad vixerit. Et ut hec nostra pensionis xl marcarum taxacio maiorem habeat firmitatem et ut hoc nostrum decretum fidelius observetur magister Thomas Framyngham nunc prior nobis iudicialiter sedent*ibus de observando fideliter omnia premissa pro se et successoribus suis corporale prestitit juramentum omnibus iuris factis et remediis quibus huic nostre ordinacioni

* Part of this word is rubbed out.

possit nocere renunciando, eumque priorem modernum ac successores suos, si premissa contraverit seu in percipienda dicta pensione prefatum magistrum W. impedierit seu impedierint, turbaverit seu turbaverint, eum et eos ex nunc prout ex tunc et ex tunc ut ex nunc excommunicavimus et excommunicamus in his scriptis, a qua sententia minime absolvi possit seu possint, nisi per nos vel successores nostros Norwicensis episcopos, quousque plene de dicta pensione xl marcarum ac de omni dampno quod passus fuerit dictus magister W. Poley fuerit satisfactus. Insuper omnia et singula acta et processus auctoritate nostra per magistrum Henricum Fulk et Simonem Burganye decretorum et legum doctores facta stabilimentum dicte pensionis concernentia tenore presencium ratificamus et confirmamus. Datum, etc. . . .

APPENDIX 3

BUTLEY PRIORY IN LOCAL WILLS

The position occupied by the Priory in the affections of its tenants and neighbours in the last century of its existence is a matter of some interest, and an attempt to throw light upon it has been made by a study of all the local wills of the period 1444-1534 from certain parishes near by. These wills are among the Registers of the Archdeaconry of Suffolk in the Probate Registry at Ipswich, and in those of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at Somerset House.¹ Of the former one hundred and fifty wills have been examined belonging to the parishes of Boyton, Butley, Capel, Chilsford, Hollesley, Gedgrave, Wantisden, and Tunstall, in all of which except Hollesley and Tunstall the Priory was a substantial landowner and in some cases the patron of the living. Five Canterbury wills have been read, three being from Capel and one each from Butley and Tunstall. The results, which are set out in tabular form below, convey the impression that the Priory was the least popular, as it was also the richest, religious foundation in this part of Suffolk: bequests to the various houses of Friars in Ipswich and Orford are the most frequent: but even the Nuns of Campsey Ashe, and the Premonstratensians of Leiston, both smaller foundations, seem as well if not better represented than Butley in the wills that have been examined, and it must be remembered that while these are only a selection of all the local wills available, the principle underlying the selection was to take primarily those villages where Butley's interests predominated. It will be noticed that at Hollesley and Tunstall, where this was not the case, Butley Priory is completely ignored by all testators. Outside a

¹ The task of finding these wills was much facilitated by F. A. Crisp, *Calendar of Wills preserved at Ipswich* (1895), and C. W. S. Randall Cloke, *Calendar of Suffolk Wills proved in*

the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (1913). I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the kindness of the officials in the Probate Registry at Ipswich.

very limited circle, then, we may say that the Priory's influence was scarcely felt at all, but it is worth noting that the proportion of bequests to the Priory to the number of wills read is considerably greater in the sixteenth than in the fifteenth century.

Parish	Wills read	Bequest to or mention of Butley Priory or any Canon thereof
Butley	30	15
Boyton	23	3
Capel	32	3
Chilsford	2	1
Gedgrave	7	2
Hollesley	30	0
Tunstall	25	0
Wantisden	6	2

The twenty-six wills which mention the Priory were as follows :—

1. *John Kervere of Butley*. 31 May, 1445. Ipswich i, fo. 16.
Proceeds of the sale of a cottage to go to the Prior and Convent for his soul.
2. *Margery Blok of Wantisden*. 28 January, 1449. Ipswich i, fo. 77.
10/- to the Prior and Convent.
3. *William Edward of Boyton*. 1467. Ipswich ii, fo. 185.
Item lego domo (sic) capitulo (sic) et venerabili domo (sic) de Butteley xs.
4. *William Notegood of Butley*. 29 January, 1472. Ipswich ii, fo. 242.
Executors to act *per concilium Magistri Willelmi Poley prioris de Buttlely*, who is made supervisor of the will.
5. *John Truston of Chilsford*. 22 September, 1476. Ipswich ii, fo. 324.
Item lego monasterio de Buttlely ita quod valeam admitti in fraternitatem et participacionem omnium bonorum spiritualium ibiden xsx.
6. *John Curteler or Cutteler of Butley*. 12 March, 1480. Ipswich iii, fo. 5.
Body to be buried in the Priory church *coram ymaginem sancti christophori*: bequest for repair of the pavement: 66/8 to the Prior, William Poley: the same to the Convent in 1482, and 6/8 to Thomas Framyngham, canon.
7. *John Mariott of Butley*. 1489. Canterbury. 20 Milles.
Item my will is to be made a brother of the chapter house of Butlie and the reward that they shall have I put it only to the discretion of Alice my wyfe, she to reward them as she thinketh best for my soule and hyrs.' Thomas Framyngham, Prior of Butley to be supervisor, 'beseching hym to be goode lord to my wyfe and so that my last will may be fulfilled.'

8. *John Rippes of Butley*. 7 September, 1489. Ipswich iii, fo. 90.
Thomas Framlyngham, Prior, residuary legatee and supervisor.
9. *William Wynte of Capel*. 13 April, 1492. Ipswich iii, fo. 118.
Tenement to be sold and part proceeds to Prior and Convent for his soul.
10. *William Pakeman of Butley*. 4 August, 1504. Ipswich iv, fo. 153.
Printed below, p. 218.
11. *John Kerrich of Capel*. 4 November, 1508. Ipswich v, fo. 28.
Witnessed by 'William Woodbrygge, Clerk.'
12. *John Ellis of Butley*. 2 August, 1510. Ipswich v, fo. 163.
6/8 'to the gyldyng of our Lady's tabernakyll of Butley Abbey.'
10/- 'to Syr John Mendham for singing of Seynt Gregory's trentall.'
13. *William Cowper of Butley*. 12 January, 1510. Ipswich v, fo. 190.
Body to be buried 'within the chercheyrd of ye monastery of Butley.' Will witnessed by Augustin, prior of Butley, William Woodbrygg, and others.
14. *John Thorne of Wantisden*. 20 March, 1511. Ipswich v, fo. 241.
4d. 'to every pryst of the howse of Butteley.'
15. *John Semman of Capel*. 16 January, 1515. Ipswich vii, fo. 133.
Will witnessed by Syr Jamys Denyngton.
16. *Henry Baret of Butley*. 8 January, 1516. Ipswich vii, fo. 182.
Printed below, p. 219.
17. *Robert Blanchflower of Butley*. 16 April, 1518. Ipswich viii, fo. 11.
Will witnessed by Syr Roberd Chyppenham.
18. *John Lones of Gedgrave*. 8 December, 1518. Ipswich viii, fo. 54.
Will witnessed by Syr Reynold Westirfeld, parish priest there.
19. *John Blanchflower of Gedgrave*. 16 January, 1521. Ipswich viii, fo. 209.
Bequest for masses to Syr Thomas Sudbury 'to be sung within the parish cherche yf it myght in Butteley.' Sudbury witnesses the will.
20. *John Francis of Butley*. 20 October, 1526. Ipswich vi, fo. 131.
Masses to be said by the assignment of the Prior.
21. *John Geyton of Butley*. Proved 21 January, 1528. Ipswich x, fo. 24.
Will witnessed by Syr Thomas Sudbury.
22. *Thomas Grey of Boyton*. Proved 20 March, 1529. Ipswich x, fo. 68.
Will witnessed by 'Nycholas Oxburgh Chanon of Butley.'

23. *Thomas Sarle of Boyton*. 12 January, 1531. Ipswich xi, fo. 31.
 'Item I geve and bequeth unto every Chanon of Buttley Abbey iiiij d. to pray for me and all my frendys.'
24. *Robert Frauncesse of Butley*. 18 January, 1531. Ipswich xi, fo. 40.
 10/- to the Convent of Butley : bequest for masses to Syr Robert Chyphenham who also witnesses the will.
25. *Richard Hunte of Butley*. 24 February, 1533. Ipswich xi, fo. 164.
 Will witnessed by Syr Robert Chyphenham, Chanon of Butley Abbey.
26. *John Brooke of Butley*. 24 August, 1533. Ipswich xi, fo. 169.
 Prior of Butley to be executor. Will witnessed by Syr Robert Chyphenham.

The posthumous fraternities mentioned in 5 and 7 are an interesting but not unparalleled feature. Similar examples, with almost identical phraseology have been published, for example, from Canons Ashby, Daventry, and St. Andrews, Northampton. *Arch. Journ.* lxx (1913), pp. 441, 443, 444.

Will of Wiliam Pakeman of Butley, Yeman, 4 August, 1504. From Archdeaconry of Suffolk iv, fo. 153. (Ipswich Probate Registry.)

. . . I bequeth my soule to almyghty god to our blyssed lady saynt mary and to all the holy company of heven and my body to be buried in the body off the cherch off the monastery off our blyssed lady of Butley beforseyde. Item I bequeth to the vestyary off the sayd monastery my hert of Goolde with my chene of Goolde to bere in relyquis in the rogacion dayes. Item I bequeth to our lady awtor off the sayd monastery my syluer cuppe with the cover off the same for a chalys euery day at our ladyes masse. Item to my lorde Edmund prior off Butley my crosse of B¹ Goolde to bere for a relyk in the Rogacion dayes and after his decease to remayn in the sayd vestyary. Item to my sayd lord Edmund my rynge of goolde with the grene stone. Item I bequeth for a grave stone for me xiijs. iiijd. Item to the reparacion of Butley parysh cherch iijs. iiijd. Item to the reparacion off Capel cherch xxd. Item to the reparacion of Gedgrave chapell xxd. Item I bequeth to euery preest off the sayd monastery at my buryng iis. and to euery Nouyce xijd. Item to euery prest ther a syluer sponne and betwene ii Nouyces a syluer sponne. Item I ffirely gyff and bequeth to the refectory off the sayd monastery my syluer saft with the cover off the same. Item to the same refectory my maser. Item to the forsayd refectory iiiij off my best Cushones. Item I Wyll that my bedes gaudyed with jasper be gyven to summe off the covent by the aduyse off my executors. Item my bedes off Coral gaudied with syluer and gylte to be gyven off the sayd manner. Item I wyll that my v bedes off gold be sold by my executors. Item I bequeth to Syr Wylliam Woodbregge supprior my brode rynge off

¹ Struck through.

gold. Item to Ser John Denston my rynge off goolde with ye Sarsyn's hede. Item to Ser John Mendham my broken ryng off gold. Item to Syr Water my sygnett off syluer. Item to Mr. Edmund Langley my grene corse gyrdell. Item to Robert Lychefeld ii Blak rybond laces with ther aglottes and my best bowe. Item to John Wryght my gown lyned with martyrs (sic). Item to herry Baret my gown lyned with ffoxe. Item to John Smy oon off [my] rydyng gownnes. Item to John Ryppis [oon] off my rydyng gownnes. Item to Ser Water my ijde bowe. to Ser John Mendham my hanger with the whyght hafte. Item my short ffonyard (?) to Ser John Thetforth. Item to John Mellor my Brekanderes with the armys handes and habyrion therto bylongyng, or elles my grett spone. Item to John Smyth my chyld my reede couerlyght with the fflowres j peyer off blankettes j peyer off shetes my gown lyned with whyte lambe and my hangard with the blak hafte. Item to Thomas off London my grene bonett. Item to Thomas the chyld off the kechyn my blak bonett. Item to John Bocher my nyght Cloke. Item to Wylliam Goolde my blak jakett. Item all my brasse and pewter with spetes and other necessaries I will have remayne to the use of the Infyrmery off the sayd monastery ffor the Sykke brothern ther. Item I will that my beddyng and hangyngs off my Chamber not bequethed to remayne to the fforsayd use. All the Residue off my goods not gyven nor bequethen I geue and bequethe to Syr William Woodebregge Supprior, Syr Watyr Baudesey, Ser John Denston, Syr John Mendham and Syr John Thetforth that they may theroff do and dispose as they thynke most conuenient to the pleasure of god to the helth and comfote of my soule and ffor those that I am most specially bownd to praye for. These beyng Wytnessez Henry Baret John Wryght and John Smyth with other moo.

Proved at Ipswich 13 August, 1504, by William Woodbridge John Denston, executors, power being reserved for Bawdesey, Mendham, and Thetford.

Will of Henry Baret of Butley 'Servant to M[aster] Pryor ther.'
8 January, 1516-17. From Archdeaconry of Suffolk, vii, fo. 182.
(Ipswich Probate Registry.)

. . . my body to be bereyd within the cherche ther by William Pakeman late decesed. Item I bequeth for brekyng of the grounde iijs. iiijd. Item I bequeth to my lord Pryor ther vjs. viijd. Item I bequeth to euery prest a Chanon of Butley ijs. Item to euery Nowyce ther xvjd. Item I bequeth for glasyng and Whytyng off the Refectory ther off both sydys xls. Item I bequeth for a Westement off our lady Chapell ther xxxiij. iiijd. Item I bequeth to the glasyng of the sowthe Wyndows of the newe halle xls. Item I bequeth to the Supprior iijs. iiijd. Item to Ser Regnald Westyrfilde iijs. iiijd. Item I bequeth to euery yeman beyng Wythin Buttley Abbey iiijd. And to euery othyr seruaunt ther ijd. Item I wyll that euery man Woman and chylde at my buryng have jd. Brede chese and drynke inowgh. Item I bequeth to makyng to Chesylforth lane xls. Item I bequeth to Buttley Parysh cherche

ijs. iiijd. Item I bequeth to Capell cherche ijs. iiijd. Item I bequeth to John Bensty ijs. iiijd. Item I bequeth to Augustyn Jubbe my godson iiij. Item I bequeth to Robert Keryche Henry Blaunhflor, Henry Grey, and Henry Reve my Godsonys to eche off them xiid. Item I bequeth to eche of my kepers xijd. Item I bequeth to William Newyll, John Umfrey, and Thomas Heth to eche off them ijd. Item I bequeth to the making off Butley brygge vis. viijd. Item I bequeth and geue to the Supprior my Syluere Spone. Item I bequeth to the Presonars off []¹ xiid. All the Residewe off my goodes not gywyn nor bequethyd I gyve and bequeth to Syr William Wodbrugge Supprior off Butley and John Beudsey whom I make and Ordeyn myn Executours that they may theroff doo et dyspoose as they thynnk most conuenyent to the hye plesure off god to the comfort off my soule and for those that I am most specially bownde to pray for Thes Wytnesseys William Newyll, John Thatcher and Thomas Hethe wyth othyr.

Probate occurs between Acts of 14 April and 22 April, 1517.

APPENDIX 4

Extracts from the Chronicle or Registrum of Butley, 1509-36,
see p. 203, note 4.

- i. The funeral of the second Duke of Norfolk. 22 June, 1524.
From Registr' Monasterij Buttley Suff. penes me Petr: Le Neve Norroy A.D. 1712, fol. 38.

Dominus Thomas Dux Norfolchie nobelissimus xviii^o die mensis Maij anno 1524 . . . in sui creatoris manus spiritum emisit apud Castrum Framlingham . . . et xxij^{do} die mensis Junij tunc proxime sequentis apud Thetford Monachorum Monasterium Honorificentissime et magnificentissime ejus corpus humatum fuit, presentibus ibidem septem diversis dominis temporalibus duodecim militibus cum pluribus generosis hoc modo et forma. Prior hujus monasterij missam de sancta maria circa horam sextam pontificalibus insignitus celebravit ministris cum hijs Domino Dionisio suo languico (canonico) ad Epistolam, Domino Willelmo Deleford priore de Dodenash² ad Evangelium, Domino Thoma Cook de Woodbrugge priore et Domino Johanne Colyn de Thetford³ priore Canonicorum capellanis, Secundam vero missam de Trinitate celebravit suffraganeus et prior de Wymundham monachorum diversis cum ministris. Tertiam vero pro defunctis Reverendus in Christo pater et dominus Dominus . . . Eliensis Episcopus solemnissime celebravit cujus ministri ad missam fuere venerabilis in Christo pater Augustinus hujus monasterij prior ad epistolam intratus, Ad Evangelium pefatus

¹ Omitted.

² This Prior of Dodnash was not known to the compilers of the Victoria County History.

³ He had been Canon of Butley, and later became Prior of Holy Trinity, Ipswich, see Appendix 7, and p. 204, n. 2.

Suffrageneus, sermocinator ibidem reverendus in Christo vir Suffrageneus . . . vocatus Doctor Makerell, albus Canonicus, et Thema ejus fuit, Eos vicit Leo de tribu Juda, et antedictus Dominus Episcopus Eliensis toti funerali officio interfuit.

2. From Registr. Buttley, fol. 46 B.

Dominus Thomas Dux prepotentissimus Norffolchie dux hoc anno [1526] xvj^{to} die mensis Septembris fuit hic ad coenam satis letus et jucundus cum domino Willelmo Willoughby et aliis ad numerum xl vicorum (sic) et die sequente scilicet die lunae post prandium cum diversis generosis, etc., vulpes apud silvam vocatam Scuttgrave wood venans (sic) usque ad decimam horam in nocte, et post prandium in crastino ibidem ad supervidendam silvam vocatam Staverton park et abhinc ad salsos marescos frescandos apud Hollesley secum equitantibus prefato domino Willoughby, Domino Antonio Wingefeld, Domino Augustino hujus monasterij priore cum aliis generosis et servientibus.

3. From Registr. Buttley, fol. 52 B.

Dux Norffolchie xxiiij^{to} die scilicet die Jovis mensis Julij A.D. 1529 hic fuit ad cenam circa decimam Horam noctis cum Juveni comite filio suo Comite de Surrey cum suis servientibus per estimacionem xxiiij et in crastino recessit, qui vendidit Staverton park priori Buttley pro ccxl libris 24^{to} februarii eodem anno.

APPENDIX 5

Letter from the Subprior and Convent to Wolsey 10 January, 1528-29
P.R.O., S.P., 1/52, fo. 125.

In most humble and reverent maner signifye unto your grace your dayly baidismen and bounden Oratours, the president and Convent of the Pryoury of Butley, that where we all agreeably ware myended and fully determynd to have proceded unto our Election by the way of the holy goste, and so to have chosen at our day of Election prefixed one of our brether named Syr Thomas Sudbourne a person for that office in our opynion right hable and most convenyent, Yet upon a further deliberation with the goode advise of our discrete and lerned Counsaillours at the day of our said Election actually exercised, We compromytted the said our Election into your most graciouse hands, unto whom we knowlege our self manyfold wayes bounden, for the tokyns of greate love and zele unto our poore howse and dere Maister and fflader thereof late departed by your grace heretofore showed, Most humbly besechyng your grace of contynuance (?) and at this tyme of our most nede graciously to consider, that for no syngle affection but only for the goode qualities of the said Sir Thomas Su[d]bourne, the goode lif we knowe in hym and his approved wisdom we we[re] thus wele myended, by inspiracion and wey of the holy goste to have el[ected] hym. Wherfore upon the consideracions

before rehersed, if it myght ple[ase] your grace in whom all our truste and confidence is, and ever hath been, to be goode and graciouse Lorde unto us and our said brother whom only amongst all our flokke we thinke most hable, so to preserve (?) hym, as we god willynge intended to have called hym, Your grace shall do a meritorious dede and profightable to our poore howse, as knowes Almyghty god who longe preserve your grace in prosperite and honour, to his pleasure and your moste hertiest desire. At Butley the xth day of January 1528 by your humble subgetts and oratours.

Willelmus Gymbold. Supprior et presidens. Johannes Debynhem
 Jacobus Denyngton. Reginaldus Westerfeld.
 Nicolaus oxburgh. Robertus Chypnaham
 Breanus Wynkfeled. Johannes bawdyssey.
 Dionisius metcalf. Johannes Norwych. Thomas yppisswyche

APPENDIX 6

LIST OF THE PRIORS OF BUTLEY

Reference may be made to the text, pp. 179-212 above, for the authorities.

1. GILBERT	..	..	..	..	1171	to	c. 1195
2. WILLIAM	..	..	..	.. c.	1195	to	1213
3. ROBERT	..	..	..	..	1213	to before	1219
4. ADAM	..	..	..	before	1219	to after	1235 ¹
5. PETER ..	..	..	..	occurs	1251		
6. HUGH ..	..	..	..	occurs	1255		
7. WALTER	..	..	..	before	1260	to	1268
8. ROBERT	..	..	..	..	1268	to before	1277/78
9. THOMAS	..	..	..	before	1277/78	to after	1290/93
10. ? JOHN	..	..	..	between	1290/93	and	1303
11. RICHARD DE IAKESLE	..	..	..	..	1303	to	1307
12. NICHOLAS DE WICTELESAM ..	..	..	..	..	1307	to	1309
13. RICHARD DE HOXNE ..	..	..	..	..	1309	to	1311
14. WILLIAM DE GEYTON	..	..	..	..	1311	to	1332
15. ALEXANDER DE STRATFORD ..	..	..	..	..	1332	to	1333
16. MATTHEW DE PAKENHAM ..	..	..	..	..	1333	to	1353
17. ALEXANDER DE DRENKESTON	..	..	..	..	1353	to	?
18. ? ROGER DE BUNGAY	..	..	..	..	?	to	1374
19. JOHN BAXTER ..	..	..	..	..	?	to	1374
20. WILLIAM DE HALESWORTH ..	..	..	..	..	1374	to	1410
21. WILLIAM RANDEWORTH ..	..	..	..	..	1410	to	1444
22. WILLIAM POLEY ..	..	..	..	..	1444	to	1483
23. THOMAS FRAMLINGHAM ..	..	..	..	..	1483	to	1503
24. EDMUND LYCHEFELD ..	..	..	..	..	1503	to	1504
25. ROBERT BROMMER ..	..	..	..	..	1506	to	1509
26. AUGUSTINE RIVERS ..	..	..	..	..	1509	to	1528
27. THOMAS SUDBORNE or MANNING ..	..	..	..	..	1529	to	1538

¹ Or 1236, see p. 182, n. 3.

APPENDIX 7

LIST OF KNOWN CANONS OF BUTLEY

The offices held in the Priory are indicated where known; and only those Priors are included of whom there is record of previous membership of the house. References to the sources will be found either in the text above (pp. 186-212) or in G. Baskerville's articles in *English Historical Review* for January and April, 1933. (The Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese.)

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|--|
| 1. | NICHOLAS DE WICTELESAM | .. | Priory 1307-09. |
| 2. | RICHARD DE HOXNE | .. | Priory 1309-11. |
| 3. | WILLIAM DE GEYTONE | .. | Cellarer before 1311, Prior
1311-32. |
| 4. | ALEXANDER DE STRATFORD | .. | Priory 1332-33. |
| 5. | MATTHEW DE PAKENHAM | .. | Priory 1333-53. |
| 6. | JOHN DE FRAMELINGHAM | .. | } occur 1334. |
| 7. | RICHARD DE CHILTENHAM | .. | |
| 8. | MATTHEW DE GETTON | .. | |
| 9. | ALEXANDER DE DRENKESTON | .. |  | Priory 1353. |
| 10. | WILLIAM DE HALESWORTH | .. | Priory 1374-1410. |
| 11. | JOHN WRYZTH or FRAMYNHAM | .. | occurs 1398. |
| 12. | JOHN DE DICHINGHAM | .. | occurs 1399. |
| 13. | JOHN DE CONYNGTON | .. | occurs 1400. |
| 14. | WILLIAM RANDEWORTH | .. | Priory 1410-44. |
| 15. | THOMAS BERGHWOLTE | .. | occurs 1411. |
| 16. | JOHN BAWDESEY | .. | occurs 1413. |
| 17. | WILLIAM POLEY | .. | Priory 1444-83. |
| 18. | WILLIAM WOLPET or WULPET. | .. | occurs 1457. |
| 19. | JOHN DEBENHAM, Vicar of Bawdesey | 1481-84, <i>podagra cruciatus</i>
1526, occurs 1529, Magister Novitiorum | 1532. |
| 20. | THOMAS FRAMLINGHAM | .. | occurs 1480, Prior 1483-1503. |
| 21. | WILLIAM GORVEYS | .. | Subprior 1483. |
| 22. | ROBERT GLEMHAM, Vicar of Bawdesey | 1483 | } Either of these
may be identical with |
| 23. | ROBERT BUTTLE, Vicar of Finbergh Magna | 1485 | |
| 24. | ROBERT HOTOST | .. | Subprior 1494. |
| 25. | HENRY THIRLOWE | .. | } occur 1494. |
| 26. | JOHN FLETE or FRASTON | .. | |
| 27. | RALPH LAKEMAN | .. | |
| 28. | THOMAS BUNGAY | .. | |
| 29. | WILLIAM BEVYRLEY | .. | |
| 30. | JOHN NEDAM | .. | |
| 31. | LAWRENCE CRETYNGHAM | .. | |
| 32. | ROBERT THETFORD | .. | |
| 33. | WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE or GYMBOLD | occurs 1494, Subprior from
at least 1504 till after 1532. | |
| 34. | JOHN DENSTON | .. | occurs 1494 and 1504. |
| 35. | WALTER BAWDESEY | .. | occurs 1494 and 1504. |

36. THOMAS ORFORD occurs 1494, 1514, 1520,
retires 1526.
37. JOHN MENDHAM occurs 1494, 1504, 1510.
38. WILLIAM WETHIRFELDE Vicar of Bawdesey 1503-05.
39. JOHN THETFORD or COLYN occurs 1504, Bachelor of
Canon Law by 1514, Prior
of Thetford 1519-34, Prior
of Holy Trinity, Ipswich,
1534-37.¹
40. RICHARD WILTON Cellarer 1514.
41. WILLIAM MELFORD occurs 1514, Cellarer 1520.
42. ROBERT CHIPPENHAM, born 1486, Canon by 1514, occurs 1518,
Refectorius 1526, occurs 1529, 1531, 1532, 1533, still
Canon 1538.
43. JOHN NORWYCH, occurs 1514, 1520, 1526, 1529. Third Prior
1532, signs surrender 1538.²
44. JAMES DENYNGTON, occurs 1514 (Hyllington), 1515, 1520, 1526
(Dysnyngton), 1529, Refectorius 1532, signs surrender
1538.
45. THOMAS BUTLEY, occurs 1514.
46. REGINALD WESTERFEYLD, occurs 1514, 1516, 'parish priest' at
Gedgrave 1518, occurs 1520, 1529, 1532, signs surrender
1538.
47. DIONISIUS RYCHEMOUNT or METCALFF, subdeacon by 1514,
priest by 1520, occurs 1524, Precentor 1526, Vicar of
Benhall 1530, dead by 1540.
48. THOMAS SUDBURY, SUDBOURNE or MANNING, occurs 1514, 1520,
1521, Cellarer before 1526 to 1529, Prior 1529 to 1538,
Vicar of Chesilford 1529, Bishop of Ipswich 1536.³
49. BRIAN WYNKFEYLD, exorcist 1514, occurs 1520, priest by 1526,
occurs 1529.
50. HENRY BASSYNGBOURNE, subdeacon 1514, Succentor 1520,
Third Prior 1526, Prior of Woodbridge 1530-37.⁴
51. NICHOLAS OXBURGH or PALMER, occurs 1514, deacon by 1520,
Sacrist and Succentor 1526, occurs 1527, 1529, Cellarer
1532 and 1535, signs surrender 1538, Rector of Sternfield,
Suffolk, December 1538, probably dead by 1546 when his
successor compounded for firstfruits.

¹ *V.C.H. Suffolk*, ii, 104, 105, 110,
111, see also Appendix 8.

² Perhaps he is John Denny,
Rector of Lyng, Norfolk, 1541,
deprived 1555, restored 1559, died
1561. Tanner states that he had been
a Canon of Butley, and as Mr. Basker-
ville has pointed out to me, dis-
possessed religious often obtained
benefices not far from their original
homes. *E.H.R.*, January, 1933, p. 52.

³ He probably died before Feb-
ruary, 1546, when the next institution

to Chesilford occurred on the death
of the last incumbent.

⁴ *V.C.H. Suffolk*, ii, pp. 111, 112.
Mr. Baskerville writes: 'I presume
he is the H. B., Rector of Wyck
Rissington, Gloucs., by 1540 . . .
died 1552. He was "presented" by
the Churchwardens in 1548 thus,
"This parson doth not say neither
Mattins nor Mass in a fortnight but
sits in an ale house at Bourton at the
tables all day and little regards his
parishioners."'

52. JOHN BAWDESEY, occurs 1516-17, Subsacrist and deacon 1526, occurs 1529, Praeceptor and Sacrist 1532, signs surrender 1538.
53. THOMAS IPSWICH, novice and subdeacon 1526, occurs 1529, priest by 1532, still Canon 1538.
54. THOMAS RIVERS, novice and acolite 1526, priest 1532, signs surrender 1538.
55. THOMAS WOODBRIDGE, acolite 1526, Subsacrist and priest by 1532, signs surrender 1538.
56. ROBERT WALTON, subdeacon 1532, deacon 1533.
57. HENRY DENYNGTON, acolite 1532, signs surrender 1538.
58. THOMAS HASKETON, acolite 1532, deacon 1534.
59. HENRY WIKEHAM, acolite 1532, subdeacon 1534.
60. ROBERT YNGHAM } Mr. Baskerville suggests to
 61. JOHN COLCHESTER } me that these three may
 62. JOHN HARWICH } have been transferred from a
 smaller house suppressed in
 1536; the names suggest
 possibly St. Botolphs, Col-
 chester.

The enormous preponderance of local East Anglian place-names in this list is strong evidence against any suggestion of a large foreign element among the Canons (see Report on the Human Remains, p. 279).

I owe much in the later part of this list to Mr. G. Baskerville's articles in *E.H.R.*, January and April 1933, on the Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese, and to further information which he has kindly put at my disposal. In his article Mr. Baskerville mentions two other names of possible Canons of Butley, John Adryan, Vicar of Mettingham (p. 60) and Peter Manning (p. 200, n. 3), Rector of Gissing 1534, died 1549, but in neither case is the evidence conclusive.

APPENDIX 8

There is in the Central Library at Ipswich a copy of Lyndwood's *Provinciale* (edition of 1505) which contains MS. notes suggesting that it once belonged to Butley Priory, and was the gift of John Thetford, Canon of the house from at least 1504 till 1519, when he became Prior of Thetford.¹ The book has had various legal documents copied into it: constitutions, for example, of Bishop Walter Southfield of Norwich (1243-57), which would be useful to an East Anglian monastery. Near the top of the last leaf but one (*recto*) occur the words *Liber iste fuit ex providencia fratris Johannis Thetford,*

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Richard Hunt, Senior Scholar of Christ Church, for drawing my attention to this book and to Mr. Leonard Chubb,

F.L.A., Chief Librarian of Ipswich, for kindly depositing it for my use at Christ Church. On John Thetford see Appendix 7, and p. 204, n. 2.

to which *canonici de Butlee* has been added in a slightly different ink. The wording suggests that the book was a gift from Thetford before 1519 when he left Butley. And that Butley was the recipient is clear, I think, from the two documents on the opposite page (last leaf but two *verso*). These are *supplicationes* to Convocation of Canterbury from Butley and Barnwell respectively and are in the same hand and ink. But while the first is simply headed *Supplicatio in sinodo provinciali* the heading of the second mentions its origin at Barnwell and it is a natural inference that the scribe belonged to the house he did not need to specify.

Neither *supplicatio* is dated, but that of Barnwell refers to a meeting of the Augustinian Chapter to be held there in the following year. Now the only known meeting of the Chapter at Barnwell in this period was in 1506, and the date 1505 may thus be provisionally given to both documents.¹ The claim of Barnwell to exemption from clerical taxation as being in some sense a 'University Priory' and the corresponding claim of St. Frideswide's at Oxford should be noted.

On the back of the last leaf is a remarkable letter purporting to come from Paulus Magus, Sultan of Babylon, to the Emperor Maximilian, dated 1512, offering the latter his only daughter in marriage, on the ground that she has turned Christian. If it has little direct bearing on the history of the Priory it shows at least a picturesque imagination on the part of its inmates, and the little quatrain that follows it is perhaps worth printing too, though its significance is not very obvious. Both the supplications and the Sultan's letter, though clearly written, are careless copies and contain several grammatical and textual difficulties.

Supplicatio in sinodo provinciali

Assis Jhu benignissime

Reverendissimo et reverendis patribus domino archiepiscopo Cant' atque episcopis aliisque prelati et clero provincie Cant' in hac sacra sinodo constitutis.

Supplicant prior et conventus pauperis domus sive prioratus ecclesie beate marie de Butlee ordinis sancti Augustini Norwic' diocesis quatenus cum dictum monasterium in eius ecclesia conventuali cancelloque eiusdem necnon claustro refectorio et domo capitulari ac in aliis domibus atque edificiis eidem ecclesie pertinentibus quorum quedam propter vetustatem ruinasque et deformitates continue contingentes non modica refectione ymmo magna reedificatione et reparacione continua ac quedam eorum per totum nova egent structura hiis annis multis (que erased) variisque que et (sic) importabilibus oneribus sit gravatum.

¹ Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 122. It is only fair to note that the location of many Chapters in this period is unknown. And it is conceivable that the documents may be much earlier and refer to one of the Barnwell

chapters of 1365 or 1386, Salter, pp. 66 and 77; Butley was using 'inundations of the sea' as an excuse for escaping burdens as early as 1303, see p. 185.

Cumque non modica pars pratorum arborum et terrarum olim fertilium que per colonorum manus aratro dari diversoque grano de anno in annum ad dicte ecclesie sustentacionem seminari solebant per inundaciones aquarum et fluctuum maritimorum iam a diu absorpta sit et penitus, quod dolendum est, per totum submersa, in prioris et conventus atque ecclesie predictae manifestam desolacionem et paupertatem continuam nisi super hoc de summe provicionis (sic) industria aliunde provideatur: Dignetur igitur hoc sanctum consilium sive hec sacra sinodus antedicta premissis intime consideracionis et caritativi favoris affectu attentis eosdem supplicantes ac eorum ecclesiam predictam a solucione sive prestacione cuiuscumque decime aut impositionis sive subsidii iam concessi forsitan et concedendi quietos exemptosque et exceptos penitus habere ac pro exemptis et exceptis in hoc declarare intuitu gracioso.

Alia supplicatio facta per priorem et conventum de Barnwell.

Supplicant devote huic sacre sinodo prior et conventus monasterii de Bernwell Eliensis diocesis ut cum ipsi propter immoderatas et cotidianas reparaciones et novas edificaciones ruinarum tam conventualis ecclesie, claustrii, refectorii, domusque capitularis predicti monasterii quam propter alia onera insolita indies contingencia se et sua comode supportare et hospitalitatem tenere non possunt hiis diebus: Cumque eciam iidem prior et conventus Capitulum generale ordinis sancti Augustini infra provinciam Cant' ad festum sancti Johannis baptiste ad annum iam proximum futurum suis sumptibus et expensis in dicto suo prioratu favere deo dante tenebuntur et supportare: Dignetur hec sacra sinodus predicta eosdem supplicantes attentis premissis a quacunque solucione decime et alterius cuiuscumque taxe et impositionis in hac sacra sinodo domino nostro Regi concessa et concedende exemptos habere ut puta tam ipsi quam sui predecessores et precessores una cum alma universitate Cantabrigie et domo sive prioratu sancte frediswide in alma universitate oxonie extiterunt hactenus a quacunque solucione et impositione huiusmodi liberi omnino pariter et exempti intuitu graciae specialis.

Copia littere Soldani ad imperatorem (Romanorum, in another hand)

Nos paulus magus babilonis soldanus magnorum deorum macometi mrolini (?) sanctissimorum preceptorum populi ab oriente usque in occidentem connepos Jhu crucifixi dei, Rex regum princeps omnium principum terre ab uno fine usque ad alium. Notum fecimus tibi maximiliano vicario nostri imperii Romani qui te ipsum dicis caput tocius plebis crucifixi dei quod vere doctorum relacione intelleximus te esse bone vite iuxta preceptum legis tue quam legem divinam appellat quod nobis cordi quocirca te scire volumus quod nobis unica est filia que propria temeritate fidem atque gratiam deorum nostrorum reliquit atque fidem tui crucifixi dei nostri nepotis assumpsit quod dolenti corde ferimus. Nolumus tamen diris verbis atrocissimisque tormentis eam revocare ad cultum deorum nostrorum sicuti nostri predecessores retractis longis temporibus fecerunt

quia caro et sanguis nostri est quamvis talia cordi vehementer ferimus quotidie sic animo maturo ac longo precogitato deliberavimus eam filiam nostram tibi nuptam tradere atque cum ea nomine dotis Centum mille pecias auri cuius suprascripcio hiis sequitur verbis Dro penam noviem amemi (sic) optimum quarum certas pecias presenti mittimus nuncio ad videndum. Et volumus quod filia nostra honore ac dignitate inter tuos principes et coram te uti decet conservetur : quod si tibi cordi fuerit eam in uxorem sumere tu nobis redde certiozem (sic) presenti nuncio et mittentur per nos oratores nostri una cum filia nostra ex civitate nostra alcario usque venetias iij die proximi futuri mensis septembris ubi et tuos oratores et legatos mittere necesse est, qui et filiam nostram nomine tuo honorifice recipient. Et oratores atque legati tui a nostris oratoribus munera largissima unusquisque iuxta exigenciam sui status recipient. Et mittimus ibidem nomine et auctoritate nostra fide dignissimos nobiles viros Johannem de Roistane maritum filie fratris nostri et magnum sacerdotem Indie quibus fidem (sic) potes quidquam Conventum concordatum atque conclusum inter illos atque oratores vestros hoc semper et omnibus futuris temporibus Ratum gratum atque firmum habere. Voloque si michi fidem dare volueris omnibus premissis prestabo fideiussores tot quot tibi videbuntur necessarii ac opportunii. Insuper mittimus inter tua munera camelos duos variis rebus atque dictione tui (sic) rarissimos opmama (sic) onustatos. In fidem omnium et testimonium singulorum premissorum jussimus et fecimus presentes litteras magno nostri (sic) sigillo communiri. Ex civitate nostra alcario xiii die Januarii anno supra m° quingentesimo xii post Nativitatis nepotis nostri crucifixi.

And a man wyst what yt were
 Cunnyng for to see and here
 he woolde not mysspend an ower
 for of all tresure yt beryth ye flower.

2. THE LATER HISTORY OF THE PRIORY AND THE GATEHOUSE

By W. D. CAROE

A brief outline of the story of Butley Priory after the Dissolution will suffice for our present purpose, which is to give some account of the Gatehouse and the adjoining buildings, most of which have now disappeared, from an architectural standpoint.

After a brief tenure by the Duke of Norfolk it passed in 1544 into the hands of William Forthe of Hadleigh in Suffolk and remained in his family till 1684, when John Clyatt married Elizabeth Devereux, daughter of Anne Forthe, and, on her death, came into possession. In 1737 George Wright married the heiress of the Clyatt property and converted the Gatehouse into a substantial residence. The next important owner was the first Marquess of Donegal, who purchased Butley in 1790 and, as Isaac Johnson tells us in his *Excursions on the Sea Coast of Suffolk* (1831), for many years made this place his summer residence. He planted the fine avenue of beeches which leads to the Gatehouse and added much to the beauty of the place by buildings and landscape scenery. About 1800 the property passed to Peter Isaac Thellusson, afterwards Lord Rendlesham, and remained in his family till it was purchased by Mr. Walter Boynton in 1920. For just 80 years it had been used as the Vicarage of Butley. In 1926 Mr. Boynton sold the Priory to Dr. Montague Rendall, who revealed many interesting features and restored it to much of its original beauty. The freehold of the whole site of the Priory and the adjoining land now belongs to Sir Bernard Greenwell.

The Gatehouse has, indeed, been saved to us in a state of remarkable preservation, owing partly to the quality of the stone employed, partly to the fact that it became the nucleus of two domestic houses

in succession. William Forthe, it appears, attached a Tudor house to it on the east side (the Gateway faces north and south): this was a ruin in 1737 and was no doubt then demolished by George Wright, who transferred the Forthe and Glemham coats of arms and crests to the filling of the arches on the north front. In 1926 they were fixed in the central hall.

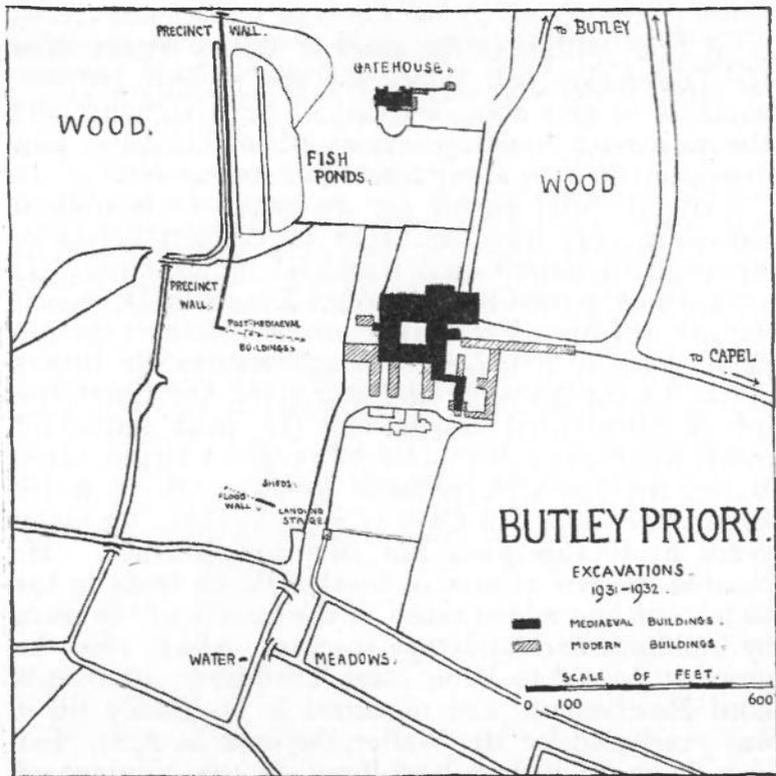


FIG. 1. SITE-PLAN

At a later date a Georgian house was erected upon its western side, the wall still bears the impress of its gable but there are no traces of the house itself. At the same time (about 1800) two Georgian pavilions were built, east and west of the north front; the former alone remains. Examination of the stone by the Geological Museum makes it probable that it was

French and came from the Valley of the Yonne ; if so, it is similar to that used in the Cathedral of Auxerre. It would be floated down the Yonne to the Seine, across the Channel to Orford and up the Butley River ; a wharf has recently been excavated close to the Priory (see page 260).

The following illustrations of the north front of the Gatehouse are extant.

- (1) 1738, Buck's view, dedicated to George Wright, Esq., by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck. This is discussed below (Pl. I).
- (2) An amazing undated drawing in the British Museum. This is highly imaginative, the salient features being largely misplaced or distorted. For instance, there are 35 shields with recognisable charges but no fleur-de-lys. The two niches on the central buttresses show figures.
- (3) S. Hooper's view, 1785. This shows two towers five storeys high, which probably never existed. There is an eastern annex and a house in the background on the west. The central buttress on the west side had not yet been erected.
- (4) John Coney's view in the 1819 edition of *Dugdale's Monasticon*. This gives us Wright's reconstruction and the house on the west. It shows a figure in the inner west buttress.
- (5) John Harris' view of 1812. This shows a western annex and also two pavilions (so far the buttresses have all been intact).
- (6) An accurate engraving by Higham, published in *Longman's Excursions through Suffolk*, 1818. Here the buttresses are falling and the western annex damaged.
- (7) H. Davy's view of the eastern part of the north front, dedicated to James Ford, published in his *Suffolk Antiquities*, 1827. The only buttress shown is in ruins.

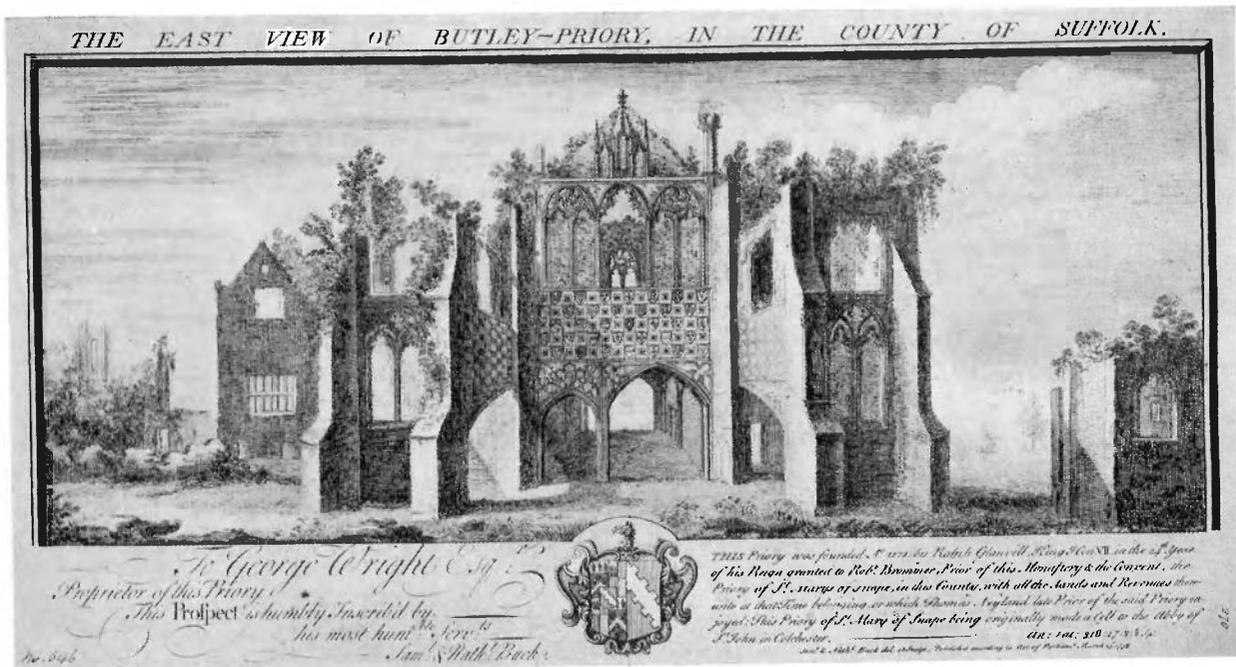
- (8) Isaac Johnson's *Excursions on the Sea Coast of Suffolk*, 1831. Among the Butley Priory ruins this gives two views of the north and south façades, which are attractive, but useless for our purpose.

Of these, Buck's view (see Pl. I) is much the most valuable, as it gives the condition of the Gateway as a medieval ruin before George Wright's restoration (1738), in which brick played a large part. Like so many of the valuable series by the brothers Buck, this print shows some details with great accuracy; others are entirely misleading. For instance, the flush stone setting with flint inlay which is such a marked feature of the structure is represented as moulded projecting stonework. It is quite evident that the original draughtsman, though his delineation may have been accurate, had no hand in cutting the plate. The engraver had never seen the building and translated the drawing into such conventional forms as were within his ken. The print shows in the background some of the remains of the great Church, probably a portion of the west end, and also a tower. A gable of the Forthe Tudor house is given on the east, as well as a small building of seemingly early Gothic form close to the north-west corner. Of this no other record remains and no certain trace has been found.

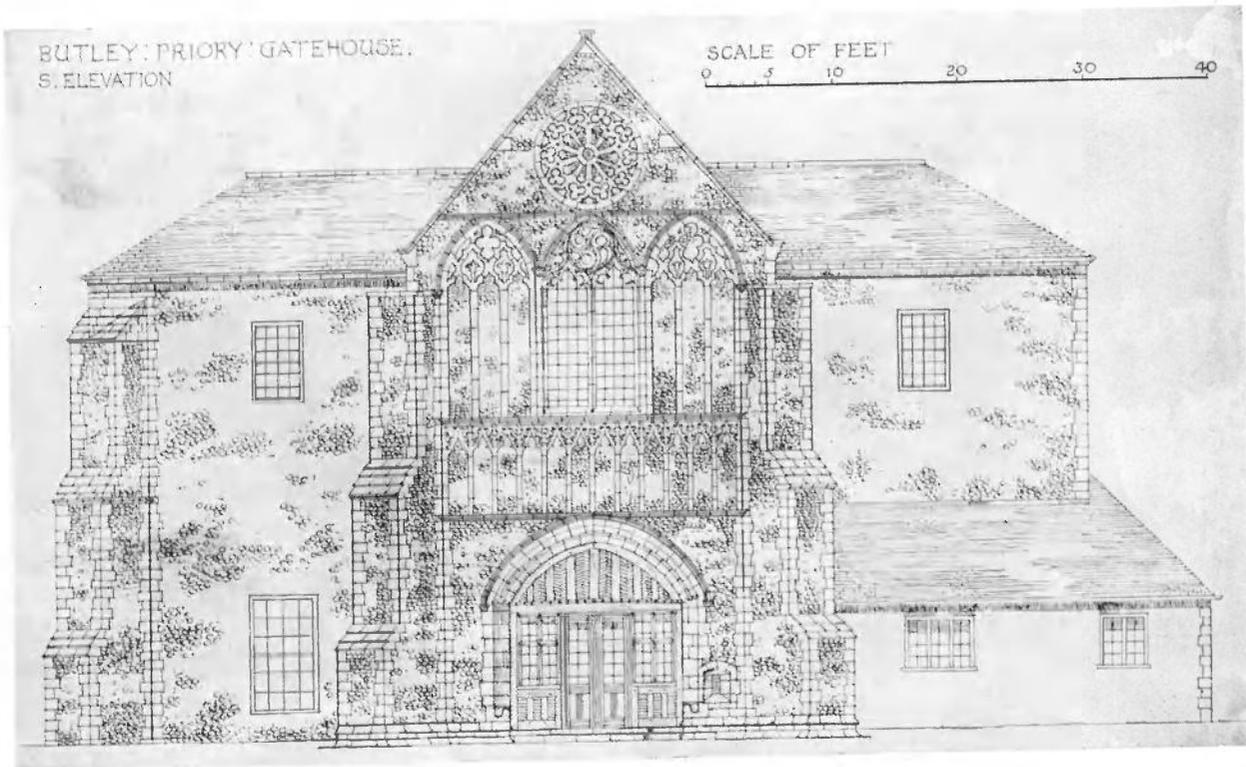
The Gateway presents in many of its features and particularly in its great armorial frieze, one of the most complete and interesting monastic entrances preserved to us. It is strange that, considering its interest and charm, it is so little known. The date is the early part of the fourteenth century, probably the first quarter. The armorial includes the Royal Arms of England which must be prior to 1340, when France ancient was quartered. Mr. James G. Mann, F.S.A., has given in a recent issue of *Country Life* (25 March, 1933) other arguments which tend to prove that all the original coats of arms date from the same epoch.

We will deal first with the plan of the house (Pl. III).

The ground floor contained the great vaulted entrance passage with a rectangular flanking on each



BUCK'S VIEW OF BUTLEY PRIORY GATEHOUSE IN 1738
(This is really the north, not the east view of the house)



SOUTH ELEVATION OF GATEHOUSE
(By courtesy of W. D. Caroe)

side, approached from the centre by doorways, the eastern of which remains. Flanking the main entrance are two tower-like structures with canted inner sides towards the gateway. These project forward like welcoming arms to the ingoing visitor. The cant side was open to the air on the ground floor and within was a stone vaulted chamber with a central boss, the wall above being supported by a flying arch, like the arch of a flying buttress, leaning up against the main building. The irregular shape of the vault adds to its charm. Like those in the large hall the roof severies were filled with plaster. The ground floor chambers served no doubt the purpose of sheltered waiting rooms for pilgrims or visitors to the Priory. They were probably fitted with hatches for communication with the servants of the gate and used for the dispensing of doles by the Almoner. Doors have since been inserted where the hatches formerly existed. A beautiful fourteenth-century piscina, which must have come from the Priory Church, had been placed on the ground on the south side and used as a fireplace; it has now been set at the proper height in the north wall, replacing a modern sash window. Of these anterooms the western is still complete with its vault, but the eastern was cut away in or about 1738 to erect a balustered wooden stairway. This formed a more commodious access to the upper floors than the previous vice. The exact position of this vice is doubtful, but it was probably in the S.W. angle of the main block, where it was approached from the door which connects the entrance with the western flanking chamber. This corner is built up with eighteenth-century brickwork, but a passage way and cavity 10 feet by 2 feet and 15 feet high, and a small loop with an oak head, all point to a former stairway in this position.

The centre of the group of rooms is the richly vaulted entrance passage, now called the Hall. Like the gateway at Trinity College, Cambridge, it has a larger and a smaller arch, both of which were furnished with doors, while at the South end is one great gateway without a door. This is flanked by a strange little loop between the eastern jamb and the adjoining

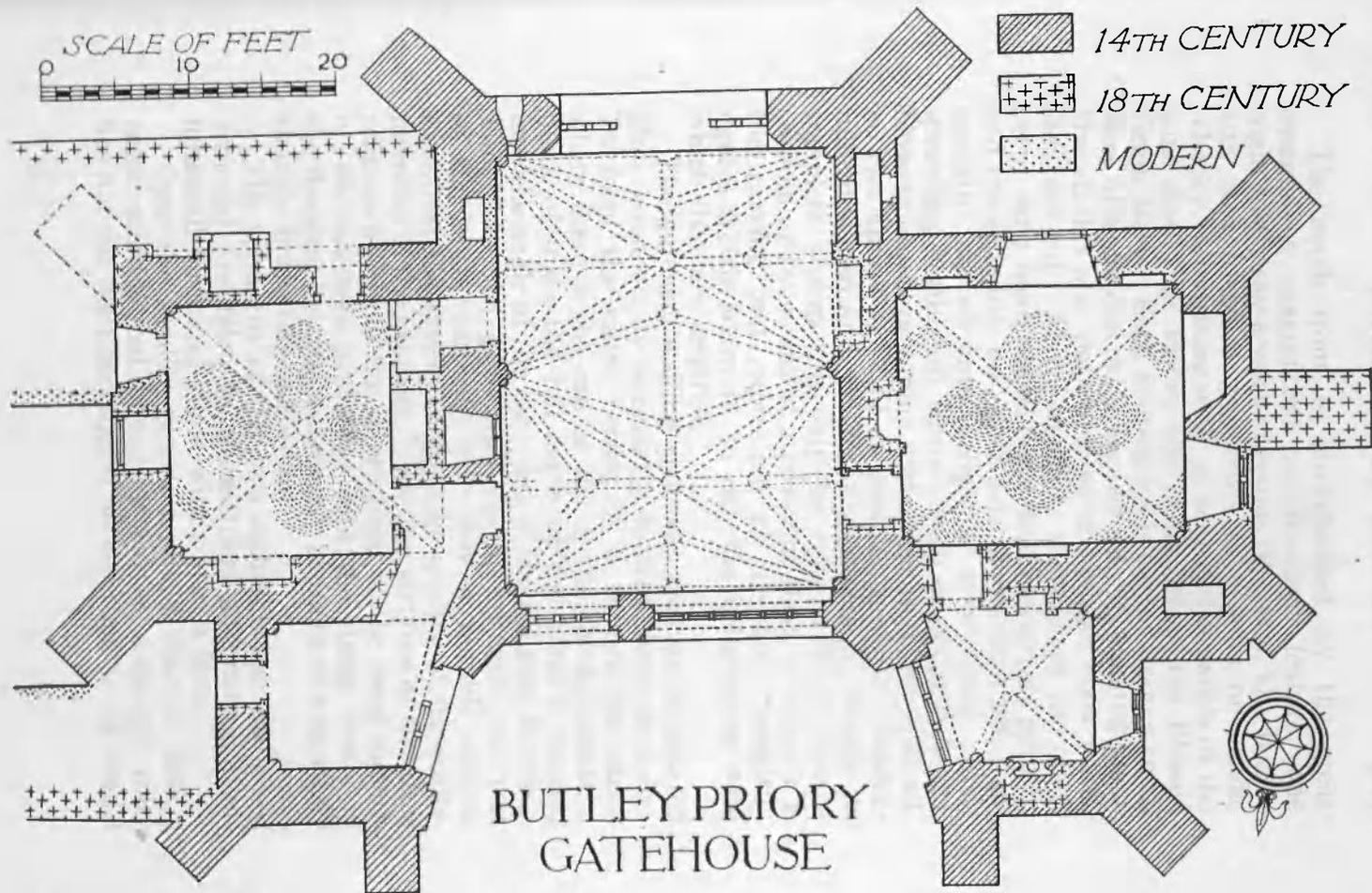
buttress. It is too low down for a man standing upright and, as the adjoining archway would be open, it would be of little use to a seated watchman. It is wrongly represented as a doorway in a print of 1830. The present doorways and doors in use from the Hall to the flanking buildings are modern, but the original door connecting to the eastern chamber was discovered behind the plaster and opened out. The similar door upon the western side, which appears in Buck's view and was probably connected to the vice, was absorbed by a fireplace in 1738.

A fourteenth-century stone door also exists in the east wall of the eastern chamber, now the kitchen, and as it opens outwards it would seem to have led into some building attached upon that side. Such a building is shown on some of the prints. No doubt it was used to connect the gateway with Forthe's Tudor extension, but it was blocked up, perhaps in 1800, and has now been opened out again. There are also remains of a large fireplace.

There is a cellar under the eastern chamber which seems to date from the Tudor period. Some modern office buildings were added about 1800 to the S.E. of the main block and some small offices behind the ancient precinct wall to the north-east have recently been revised and extended.

A garderobe shoot exists in the N.W. angle of the N. block with loops (one a quartrefoil) in its upper parts. It seems originally to have served two stories of garderobes, as there is a blocked loop high on the west face opening into a now inaccessible chamber. The chamber in the west tower is now a bath room, which opens into the vaulted lower garderobe still used for its original purpose.

The building is marked by some unusually massive buttressing at every angle excepting the S.E., where the buttress has been removed. The two main buttresses flanking and indeed dominating the north façade have niches for figures originally about 5 feet high. Figures in this position appear on two of the prints. This leads us to further consideration of the elevations and first the north (Pl. VI).



To face page 234.

BUTLEY PRIORY
GATEHOUSE

PLATE III.

By courtesy of W. D. Caroe

The north front is distinguished by the great armorial—a magnificent architectural feature, one might justly say a work of genius (Pls. iv A, v). It consists of a frieze of 35 shields in 7 rows or bands, 'checky,' alternating with 35 fleur-de-lys panels of the same size. The Priory was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Each fleur-de-lys is carved upon a small piece of stone centred upon two rows of squared flints. The shields also project from the blocks upon which they are cut. Above many of them, over the chief, peeps out a quaint little bogie head or Canon's portrait and the spandrils on either side of the base point are quaintly carved into delightful grotesques; little sprawling heads and figures, with or without wings, blowing horns, or toying with other devices, 70 in all, no two alike. It is all an amazing fantasy—wonderfully designed and wonderfully preserved, though its complete charm can only be fully realised from a scaffold or by means of a powerful glass, so delicate is the carving and expression of the little sprightly figures which adorn it, so rich the imagination with which they are inspired.

The gateway walling generally consists of squared flints bounded by irregularly bonded freestone coins. To form the outer border of a fleur-de-lys panel, where there is the end of one of the checky bands, a block of stone the full depth of the band is bonded into the angle of the cant side of the flanking buttress. Thus does the great armorial blend with the rest of the work, and we have here a notable artistic expedient illustrative of the high quality of the craftsmanship of the gateway. Another instance of the same refinement lies in the intersection of the hood moulds of the northern archways with the string course of the flanking buttresses, an early instance of a carefully thought out interpenetration.

The spandrils of the two arches below the great armorial are filled by geometrical and cusped stone forms all flush and inlaid with squared flints.

Over the smaller gate is a shield charged with a cross recercele and a bend, or baston, a charge which has not yet been deciphered with certainty. A similar

coat is associated with Sir Guy Ferre, lord of the Manor of Benhall at the time that the Gatehouse was being built. Its prominent position would thus reflect the claims he, as later his widow, laid to the advowson of the Priory (see p. 189). We may here note in passing the flint and stone inlays at the bases of the two flanking buttresses of the gable. The return sides of these were opened up when the 1738 filling of the flying arches was removed.

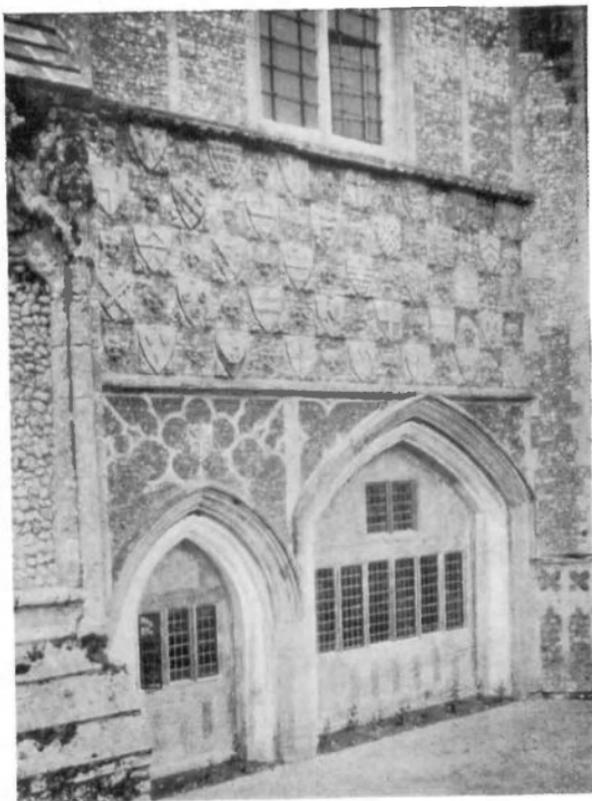
The string course over the armorial is decorated by the continuous lobed ornament growing from the background with divided stalks, a common fourteenth-century French type, generally on a larger scale in France, but seldom found in any form in this country. The central five feet of this dainty frieze was cut away about 1800 to make way for a solid block of stone which formed the base to the circular headed window of that date.

The series of shields of the great armorial has been aptly described as a concise history of England at the period, traced through the great families represented, including England's association with foreign powers. All are grouped round the Crucifix which occupies the central shield in the top row. They have been fully described in Mr. Mann's article to which reference has already been made (*Country Life*, 25 March, 1933). In brief we have here :

- (1) The great Christian countries.
- (2) The chief officers of state.
- (3) Some great Baronial families.
- (4) East Anglian families.
- (5) Suffolk families.

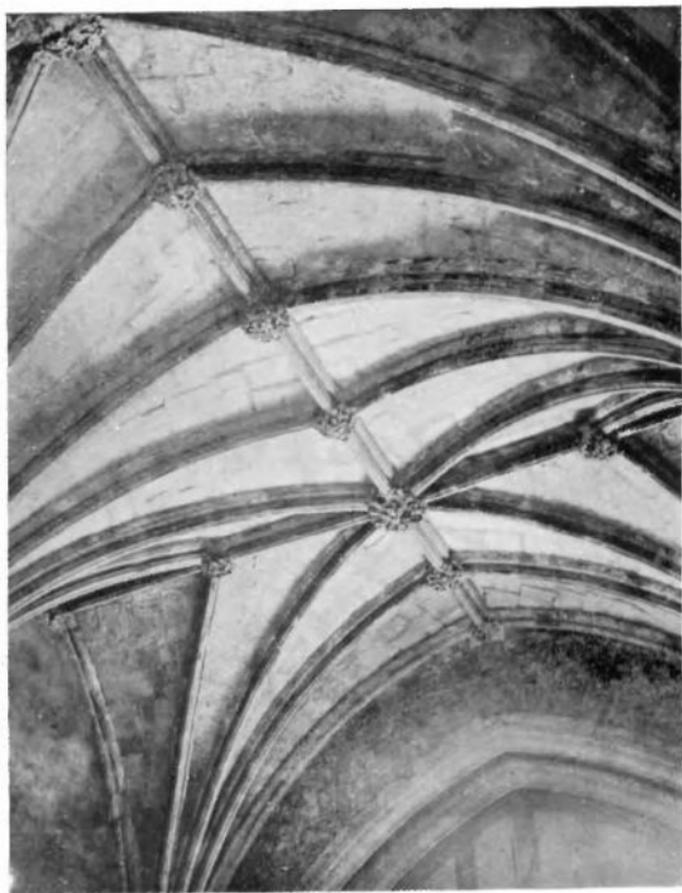
The shields include at least five benefactors of the Priory.

All are wonderfully preserved except two, which were cut in friable pieces of stone, no. 3 in the top row, S. Edmund, and no. 2 of the bottom row, by tradition Willoughby : this is now superseded by the Rendlesham crest in Roman cement. To such a depth of ignorance had heraldry descended in the first years



A. GATEHOUSE : NORTH SIDE

To face page 236.



B. GATEHOUSE : VAULT OF ENTRANCE-PASSAGE

PLATE IV.



A. LADE



B. BEAUMONT

SHIELDS ON NORTH FRONT OF GATEWAY

of the nineteenth century that a crest is substituted for the charge upon a shield.

The first floor over the armorial has a fine 2-light window with a circular form in the tracery. The window forms the centre of a triple arcade, the two outer arches being blind panels, traced in stone and filled in by cut flints. About 1800 the centre light was built up with a round arched brick classical window, but when this was recently removed the tracery was found complete, all but the mullion. There was no doubt about the filling of the circle in its present form. The double cusped quatrefoil, which Buck's drawing shows, was impossible. He draws the tri-lobed tracery of the side lights correctly but one wheel is radiating in the wrong direction.

The niches in the gable are complete and a fine piece of work. Here was the figure of the Virgin probably with the Founder kneeling on her right and an Archangel on her left. About 1800 the two flanking niches were pierced with windows, but the filling has now been put back and the architectural scheme is wonderfully complete. The flint gable is now finished in brick. Buck shows it bereft of its coping but flanked by two fourteenth-century finials, one of which seems complete, the other broken down and smaller in diameter. One of these may have contained a flue.

Flint and stone patterns fill in the spaces over the canted flying arches, the eastern pattern in squares of flint and stone 'checky' with double panelled borders; the western in lozenges. Above these patterns are interesting square-headed 2-light fourteenth-century windows which differ from everything else in the building. These were bricked up in or after 1738. The *ferramenta* were built in and are preserved. The north face of each of the towers has a rich stone tracery panel below, surmounted by a 3-light window. The jambs and part of the sills of these windows and the springing of the tracery were in situ, leaving no doubt as to its form, but they were built up in brickwork. None of the new work is conjectural. Even the mortices for the *ferramenta*

existed with some part of the iron left in them. An interesting window was found complete and opened out on the east side of the eastern projection, which has tracery heads precisely the same as the two northern windows. The two flint-filled flowing tracery panels of the flanking towers deserve notice, with their apex cutting up into the window sills over them. It has been suggested that these towers are additions to the original structure—some 40 or 50 years later. This is possible, and the flint-filled traceries are compatible with a later date. But the mouldings of the flying arches, the caps, bases and details of the vaulting seem all contemporary with the rest, while the flint-filled traceries are matched by similar work on the south façade, to which we may now pass (Pl. II).

Here we have the single segmental arch in the centre with an 18-feet opening. The archways are notable for the bold wave mouldings of jambs and arches and for jamb stops characteristic of their period. The hood mould works neatly into the string course over it, which is surmounted by 12 flint-filled, arched, crocketed and pinnacled stone panels. Above is a triple arcade similar to that on the north, with a 2-light central window, but with 3 lights instead of 2 in the flanking panels. The central tracery matches exactly the tracery of the side panels on the north. Buck gives the three lobes here correctly. The side panels have somewhat bizarre and unusual tracery. A flint-filled rose occupies the gable not unlike those upon the tower of East Dereham Church.

The north and south projections were capped originally by parapets, of which the base moulding and the gargoyles remain on the west. A 3-light decorated window filled the west front just beneath the parapet: as it has not been opened up, the jambs and arch only are now visible. The vast buttress below its sill was not placed there till after 1785. There is a trifling cant in the western pillars of the chamber below; but the need for so bulky a support is not apparent. There was a wide door with a recess on the ground floor here, but the door opened inwards instead of out. There was also a window with window

seats ; the scoinson arch is in its original position and springs from its original springer. The actual window now introduced is set in the later brick opening. All this work was built up with eighteenth-century brickwork, and the windows introduced at that date were subsequently built up. It will be remembered that an eighteenth-century building was erected against the west side, and subsequently removed. In connection with this building a door was made in the west side of the N.W. tower projection, which has now been converted into a window. Near it outside is the arched entrance to the garderobe. The south side of the west block and the whole of the east block have been refaced at some unknown date, chiefly by uncut flints, but there are some brick patches. Sash windows were inserted with brick coigns ; though well proportioned, they are naturally out of character with the rest of the building.

The buttresses, which gave way between 1812 and 1818, have been repaired mainly in brickwork and many of the stone weatherings replaced by large buff-coloured bedded tiles, made for the purpose.

The chimneys, which are modern, have been much improved by recent rebuilding.

The Vault of the main gateway (Pl. iv B) is divided into 2 bays with diagonal, tiercon and ridge ribs, but without liernes—the severies, which had been filled with plaster, now reveal the original stone. They meet in richly carved bosses with full 'decorated' foliage, and the ribs spring from triple clustered shafts which have foliated capitals, but, excepting on two of the angle shafts, the foliations have been cut away, much to their detriment.

The lofty rooms on either flank of the centre have quadripartite vaults springing from stone angle shafts with moulded capitals. The filling of the severies, which had also been plastered up, is in brick, each severy treated in domical form so that no brick cutting was required. This interesting and unusual work is one of the features of the gateway. The same treatment exactly occurs in the upper floor of the ruins of Bishop Salmon's (1299-1325) porch in the garden of

the Palace at Norwich.¹ The work is of the same date, and both works present some similar characteristics. The fourteenth-century gateway at Bury St. Edmunds also has some features which it shares with this work at Butley. There are some remains of the former stone battlements above the ceiling of one tower inside, which add some confirmation.

The present ground floor of the main hall is about 6 inches above the original. The bases of the vaulting shafts are exposed in pits. They were of the normal 3 beaded section of the period, the centre being the smallest. The original floor of the two side chambers lies, however, nearly 2 feet below the present level.

An arched opening into a deep recess was found upon the east wall of the hall. Sufficient evidences remained to show that hood mould and arch were of the same stone which is characteristic of the period. This opening was probably a watching-window from the porter's lodge.

Where the door (which was concealed beneath the plaster) joins the hall and the east annex, the vault of the latter is carried upon a corbel. In the west annex the old flue was found in the wall and re-used.

The door now leading to the cloak room in the staircase hall came from the garderobe on the mezzanine floor and belongs to the Forthe period. The opening out of the three ancient windows has added great dignity and interest to the stairway.

The lobby at the head of the stairs is panelled in late Jacobean manner. In the eastern angle, by opening a hinged panel, the springing of a cant arch will be found. This bridged the original stairway leading down to a room over the eastern pilgrims' chamber. The similar western chamber, now the bathroom, has the stairway down to it no doubt in the original position, but has only two windows—the third would have been blocked by the garderobe and its approaches. Clearly there was once a canted window or arrow slit across the angle. One jamb only of this exists. The hinge hooks of a shutter are *in situ*.

¹ Mr. Ward Perkins has drawn the Gatehouse of West Acre Priory attention to a similar brick vault in (Norfolk).

In the garderobe is a stone doorway complete with its hinge-hooks on the west jambs. It led down to the garderobe by steep steps from the first-floor room of the west annex.

The detail of the interior of the great northern window was found intact, though the pilasters had been hacked off and thrown into the rubble behind the panelling; ancient bases and caps, which vary somewhat, were *in situ*.

The ceiling over the bedrooms and the staircase leading up to the attics were probably insertions of the early nineteenth century. Bulkheads have been formed to display the windows to their full height.

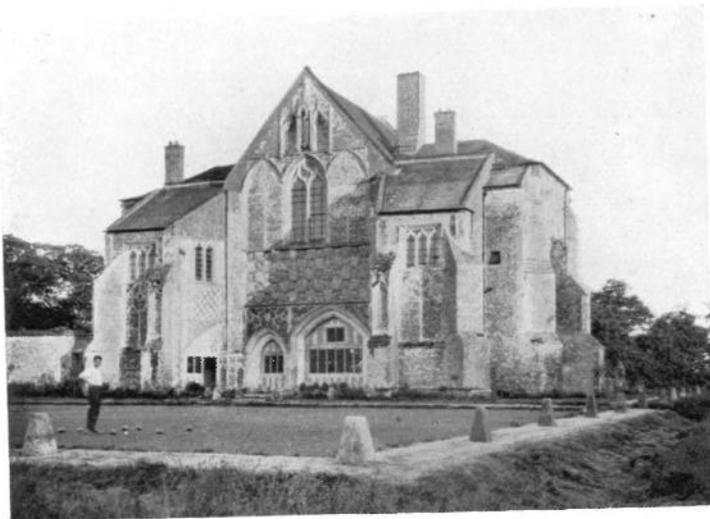
In the work undertaken in 1926 to make the gateway into a comfortable living house, the first thought has been for the preservation and display of antiquity. Almost nothing has been introduced for which there was no definite authority. Nothing ancient has been removed. New work needful, such as the fireplaces in the hall and the western pilgrim's chamber, has been designed independently, without any attempt to reproduce or falsify the past, only to harmonise with it. Some rough plastering was essential to complete the walls of the hall, but wherever possible the old walling, as found, has been left to tell the story. It all makes a delightful soft harmony of texture and colour.

3. THE EXCAVATIONS

By J. N. L. MYRES

It now remains to describe the results of the excavations which under the inspiration of Dr. M. J. Rendall and with the generous assistance and permission of Sir Bernard Greenwell have revealed, during the past three years, the main outline of the Priory Church and Cloister, and the domestic buildings which surrounded the latter. The work was carried out in short spells rarely more than a fortnight in length, and almost entirely by voluntary labour collected and maintained by Dr. Rendall. Space does not permit the mention of all those whose participation thus contributed to the results recorded below, but special gratitude should be paid to Messrs. J. B. Ward Perkins, R. D. Greig, P. Rendall, and P. Murray, who formed the nucleus of most of the excavating parties concerned. Mr. Ward-Perkins is also responsible for the report on the priory dock or landing stage, for most of our knowledge of the course of the precinct wall, and for the drawings of the tiles (Figs. 4-7); and he gave invaluable assistance to the writer throughout. Thanks are also due to the Hon. Matthew Ponsonby of the Abbey Farm for his tolerance of activities which on occasion threatened to cut off altogether his access to the outside world.

The excavation of the site, (Pl. X), was a matter of considerable difficulty. With the exception of a fourteenth-century arch leading from the south transept to the south choir aisle, an adjacent block of masonry which must have filled the western bay of the south choir arcade, and two fragments in the north transept, no part of the church remains above ground; and of the domestic buildings the only traces survive in two large barns on the sites of the Refectory and the Rere Dorter, which have both been so extensively repaired and rebuilt as to show superficially little



GATEHOUSE, NORTH FRONT



A. BASE OF PIER IN N. TRANSEPT
FOURTEENTH CENTURY



B. THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SEAL OF THE
PRIORY

(B.M. Det. Seal LXXI, 99)

trace of their medieval origin. The nave and transepts of the church lie in a grass field, but across the choir now runs a metalled road, the main access to the Abbey Farm. Beyond this the site of the east end is occupied by two modern cottages with their gardens and outbuildings: and though the tenants kindly permitted the demolition of their cabbages, the local tradition that a horse pond had previously occupied the site proved to be only too true. It had, no doubt, resulted from the fossicking of Lord Rendlesham, who about 1805 removed the then considerable remains of the east end of the church for 'the Erection of Fancy Ruins, and other Embelishments at his neighbouring seat of Rendlesham Hall.'¹

The north side of the Cloister with the Vestry at one end and part of the western range at the other is now covered by a row of horse boxes, the rest of the Cloister Garth and part of its eastern and western walks lie under a farm-yard, and the whole of the southern range is covered by the barn representing the Refectory and adjacent farm buildings, mostly of much later date. The dormitory range lies partly under these buildings and partly under the road leading to the Abbey Farm. Further yards and ranges of farm sheds have prevented the excavation of any structures which may lie south of the Refectory and east of the Rere Dorter and the Domitory, and the plan cannot therefore be regarded as complete. In all probability the Infirmary, and Prior's Lodgings are to be found in one or other of these positions.

The plan is thus based mainly upon foundations traced below ground, and in many parts even these are extremely fragmentary, large sections having been systematically grubbed up owing to the scarcity of building materials and road-metal in this part of Suffolk. In places, therefore, the line of a wall depends upon no more than the marks of a robber trench in the undisturbed grey sand on which the Priory was built. Where preserved the foundations are built for the most part of large flint nodules, and blocks of

¹ Isaac Johnson, *Excursions on the Sea Coast of Suffolk* (1831), who figures the ruins before their removal.

septaria : in some parts the local crag is used especially for facing, as in the north and west walks of the Cloister, and there is a little freestone and brick, especially in the later periods. The walls above ground were, to judge by the surviving fragments, largely of the same materials, with ashlar angles and moulded details of a similar stone to that employed in the Gatehouse. The determination of the various periods in the building has largely depended, in the almost complete lack of evidence of other kinds, on the identification of the various types of mortar employed. Thus in the earliest part of the church (Period I) a soft sandy mortar, smooth and yellowish-green in colour, is invariably used, and appears nowhere else. In Period II, the first extensions to the Church and the main lay-out of the cloister buildings were carried out in a coarse red-brown mortar, of which the local crag sand seems to be the principal constituent. A hard white mortar characterizes the fourteenth-century re-buildings of Period III, and a bright yellow mortar with white flecks of lime and shell those of Period IV, which may be taken to cover the fifteenth century. With these preliminary remarks we will pass to a survey of the buildings in greater detail.

At its greatest extent the *Church* was at least 235 feet in external length and 104 feet across the transepts. The nave with north and south aisles was of nine bays, the choir of five. The width of the nave was 65 feet, of the choir 90 feet. It is possible that a Lady Chapel extended the east end, but if this was so all traces of its foundations have been removed. This final plan was, however, only reached after a series of extensions.

In its original form (Period I, 1171- about 1200) the church consisted of a long aisleless nave, 132 by 34 feet, square transepts giving a total width across the crossing of 90 feet, and an aisleless presbytery whose length remains uncertain owing to the disturbances caused by the construction and removal of later additions. The peculiarities of this plan, the extreme length of the nave, the absence of choir aisles or transept chapels, suggest that from the first these

additions were contemplated, but it seems clear that the building stood for some short period as described. In the first place, as we have noted, the mortar employed in this work is quite different from that of the aisles and transept chapels: and that this distinction is important may be seen from the fact that the south aisle wall of the nave abuts on and is not bonded into the west wall of the transept. On the north side of the nave the case is still clearer, for here the footings of four very shallow buttresses were found abutting on the north side of the early nave wall at intervals which do not correspond exactly with the piers of the later nave arcade. Such buttresses, which are themselves additions to the original work, must have been removed when the aisle was built, yet they are clearly nearer in date to the second than the first period, for the mortar employed in them is similar to that of Period II. The early nave projected nearly two feet further west than the later one, and a gap in the foundation marks the site of a west door: the walls are 4 feet 6 inches wide on the north and about 5 feet on the south, except at the west end where for some 15 feet they are nearly 7 feet in width on both sides. The footings of the northern respond of the western arch of the crossing indicate a pier 9 feet long projecting 1 foot from the alignment of the wall. There was a door communicating with the Vestry in the south wall of the south transept.

The additions of Period II (first half of the thirteenth century) followed closely on Period I. As has already been noted (p. 181) a probably reliable tradition attributes substantial building operations at Butley to the founder's son-in-law, William de Auberville: and the work of Period II included not merely the extension of the church but the main lay-out of the conventual buildings in which nothing corresponding to Period I in the church has been noted. Until this time the Canons must have occupied temporary quarters, probably of wood. In the church the changes apparently began at the east end, which was extended to five bays or some 70 feet from the eastern arch of the crossing: aisles 10 feet wide were built for at

least three and probably four bays eastwards, and square chapels, that on the south a little larger than that on the north, were attached to the east walls of the transepts beyond the new aisles.¹ At the same time the north transept was prolonged: its old north wall was removed to ground level, the foundations were spread to form a basis for the new pavement, and substantial walls were built to enclose an additional 12 feet in the church.

In the nave the old north and south walls were also removed to ground level, and used as foundations for the piers of the new arcade. Aisles similar to those in the choir were built. The positions of the five westernmost piers of the south arcade, and of one on the north side, were indicated by the survival, partial or complete, of their ashlar bases some 4 feet square, set at intervals varying from 8 to 10 feet 6 inches. In the eastern part of the nave both the piers and the walls on which they stood, as well as most of the north aisle wall, had been totally removed, and it was thus impossible to determine the position of the *pulpitum*. The foundation of the south-western pier of the crossing erected at this period was 7 feet square.

At the west end so clean a sweep was made of the old work as to suggest that architectural fashions had largely changed since it was built and that this was the last part of the building of this period to be finished. Not content with razing the old west wall, the builders laid their fresh footings (5 feet 6 inches wide) right through its foundations, the western face of which alone survives below ground level, as the new alignment was nearly 2 feet further east than the old. The old gap for a central doorway was filled with four large slabs, which formed the threshold for a new one 5 feet wide. Substantial foundations at the north-west corner, which cover an area of some 15 feet by 9 feet, indicate probably the base of a turret staircase. They were intersected by a section of what was in all likeli-

¹ The dimensions of that on the north are not quite certain, for they could only be ascertained from the robber trenches left by the builders of the wider aisles in Period III.

hood the main water supply of the Priory. It consisted of a stone-lined channel 6 inches square, built with the mortar of Period II and containing a 3-inch lead pipe. Entering the church at this corner from the direction of the fish-ponds it passed under the original north nave wall between the first and second piers from the west, and under the south wall between the second and third pier. Here it turned due south to avoid crossing the aisle wall opposite a pier, and resuming its south-easterly course across the north walk of the cloister, passed under the cloister wall at its north-west corner, whence it no doubt proceeded to the *Lavatorium*, the site of which was not identified. The lead pipe and capstones of this conduit had been removed, the robbers having ploughed their way even through the substantial nave walls in search of the lead: and only a stretch of 3 feet of piping at the north-western corner of the church remained *in situ*.

During the fourteenth century (Period III) substantial alterations were made to the east end of the church. The choir aisles and transept chapels of Period II were removed and new aisles were built 24 feet wide, the full width of the original transepts. The two arches which had given access from each transept into the aisle and transept chapel respectively were replaced by a single arch, whose piers, 8 feet in length, were built against the polygonal responds of the earlier openings. That in the south transept is the only remaining arch in the church, and of the corresponding feature in the north transept one pier still remains above ground and the base of the other is preserved immediately below the turf (Pl. VII A). The third surviving block of masonry consists of an internal buttress, 7 feet by 5, which was built against the western face of the north-east pier of the crossing either at this time or perhaps later. Though the pier itself has entirely disappeared the buttress reveals that there were two attached columns on the western face forming the respond of the north transept arch. The new aisles to the choir must have been carried five bays eastward, though their walls, marked by a buttress between

each bay, are very imperfectly preserved, parts of the second and third bays only being traceable on the south, while on the north side part of the fourth and the whole of the fifth bay with the return of the east wall and corner buttresses were found, the remainder lying under the road. The position of the east wall in direct alignment with a fragment of the north-east corner of the central aisle seems to show that this was the eastern limit of the Church. Trenches further east encountered nothing but clean sand, but it must be remembered that this part of the building was extensively robbed by Lord Rendlesham in 1805, and its site was within living memory covered by a horsepond. The clean sand was evidently a deliberate filling of this area before the present cottages were built. It is therefore possible that the Lady Chapel extended further to the east, as is indeed suggested by Isaac Johnson's sketches taken soon before Lord Rendlesham's operations.¹ It is, however, equally possible that one or other of the wide choir aisles of Period III served, as at Repton or St. Frideswide's, as Lady Chapel.

The most interesting feature encountered in the enlarged south choir aisle was the brick substructure of a large altar tomb, or possibly shrine, which had cut through the foundation of the demolished aisle wall of Period II in the middle of the third bay. This structure, 8 feet long and 4 feet wide, must have been the central feature of the later aisle; and, if it was, as seems probable, a tomb rather than a shrine,² it is interesting to speculate on the identity of the person buried in so conspicuous a position. The only man of prominence to whom tradition assigns a grave at Butley is Michael de la Pole, third Earl of Suffolk, who fell at the battle of Agincourt in 1415; but there is another claimant for his body, and though the identification is tempting, it would be hazardous without further evidence to

¹ Hawes, however, writing when the ruins were still standing, implies no projection eastwards: '... the East end of the Church which was very large, consisting of three Isles,

having a spacious and lofty East Window.'

² So far as we know, Butley possessed no important relics before the sixteenth century (see p. 204, n. 2).

regard this tomb as his.¹ Between it and the aisle wall lay four stone coffins, three of which had lost their lids while the fourth retained only the lower part, and though the bodies were still inside, the bones had been greatly disturbed and broken probably in a search for treasure after the Dissolution.² A further coffin lay east of this group but could not be cleared as it underlay the fence of the cottage garden, and yet another which probably came from the same area has for many years been exposed on end in the recessed arch of the block of masonry filling the westernmost bay of the south choir arcade. It was evidently a popular place for burial in the period between the building of this aisle and the end of the fourteenth century when stone coffins had gone out of fashion.

The only addition of importance to the church in Period IV (probably fifteenth century) was a small chapel, 10 feet by 9 feet internally, on the east side of the northern extension to the north transept. This contained some tile paving *in situ*, and a line of brickwork close to the north wall which ran some eighteen inches below the floor and was probably the foundation for stalls or a monument against the wall. A narrow wall was built in this period between the second pier from the west in the south arcade of the nave, and the aisle wall, and a strengthening wall 18 inches wide was inserted against the inside of the west front in the central aisle of the nave.

No evidence was found to indicate the number, position, or dedications of the altars in the church. Hawes (1712) mentions chapels of St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Anne, All Saints, and St. Sigismund. A Lady Chapel is mentioned early in the fifteenth century, and it had a 'tabernakyll' in 1510; a statue of St. Christopher occurs in a will of 1480.³

Remains of tile paving were found *in situ* in various

¹ The earliest note I have found of this tradition is Hawes (1712). The *D.N.B.* states that this Michael de la Pole was buried at Ewelme, Oxon: and his grave is traditionally associated with an 'uninscribed slab of rough blue lias' at

the east end of the north aisle in that church — see A. T. Humphreys, *Historical Guide to Ewelme Church* (1926), pp. 22, 23.

² See p. 279.

³ See Appendix 3.

parts of the church. At the west end of the nave the tiles were set diagonally in panels 3 feet wide, demarcated by a single or double line of tiles running east and west set straight with the axis of the church. Similar stretches were found in the south transept, in the western part of the north choir aisle, and in the south choir aisle immediately east of the surviving arch. Here the pavement contemporary with the fourteenth-century rebuilding was found fairly complete immediately overlying the aisle walls of Period II and underlying by 8 inches a very broken floor of large coarse yellow and green plain tiles probably of the early sixteenth century. The position of the square base of the west pier of the south choir arcade was outlined in the fourteenth-century tile floor, though all trace of the masonry had been removed. The types of tiles associated in these and other stretches of flooring preserved elsewhere in the building are discussed below, p. 265 *et seq.*

After the demolition of the western part of the church, probably in the sixteenth century, part of the south aisle and of the north walk of the Cloister was the scene of later rebuilding. A rough flint wall crosses the north walk of the Cloister opposite the fifth bay from the west end of the nave and disappears southwards under the range of modern buildings. A similar wall crosses the south aisle and overlies the base of the already destroyed fourth pier of the nave arcade: adjoining it on the west a circular well lined with brick 6 to 7 feet in diameter was sunk partly through the foundation of the south wall of the nave: this, though cleared to water level of its contents of broken stone, brickwork and tiles from the ruined buildings, gave no evidence of its own date. Sheep pens had been erected at some period along the west end of the nave and a stake from one of these had completely penetrated the skull of a medieval burial at the west end of the north aisle.¹

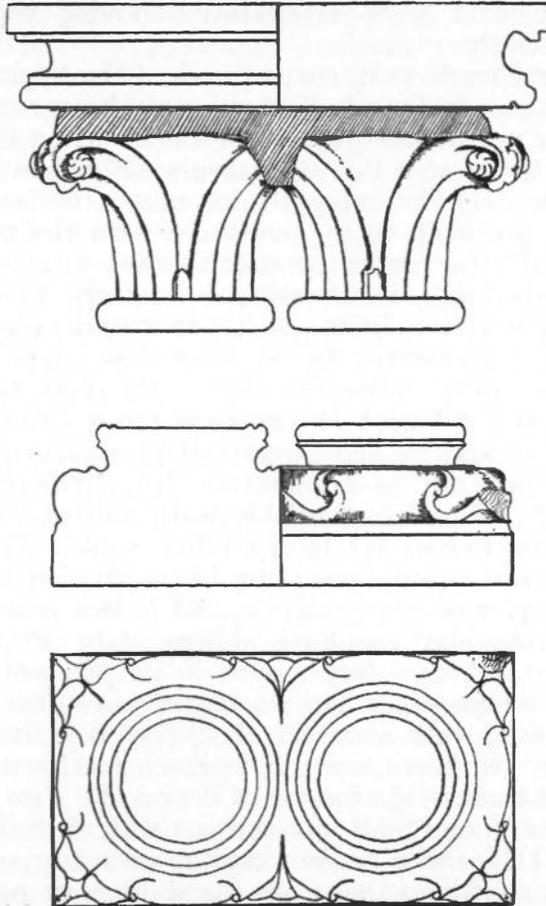
The *Cloister*, including its walks, measured 98 feet from east to west, and 88 feet from north to south,

¹ See p. 279.

the size of the central Garth being 71 feet by about 62 feet. It would appear probable from these measurements that the site was laid out in Period I before the south aisle of the nave was built, and that a cloister garth somewhat over 70 feet square was contemplated. The building of the south aisle on the site of the planned north walk necessitated moving the latter further south.

Efforts made to discover traces of the hypothetical early cloister walks where they would have run across the later north walk gave no result at all on the east, and on the west a line of masonry 18 inches long on approximately the expected line under the later floor is more probably to be connected with the adjacent section of the water conduit discussed above. It would, therefore, seem probable that the Cloister of Period I if it was built at all was a temporary affair of wood. Evidences for at least three later reconstructions were, however, clear. The first of these, the Cloister of Period II, can be dated not much later than 1200, and though no part of it remained *in situ* it was possible to reconstruct its character from fragments re-used in the later walls and especially in a drain of Period III in the north walk. From the sides of this drain came four bases of twin columns and one pair of twin capitals, and it was roofed with four rectangular moulded abacus slabs fitting the capitals, and five large slabs with polished upper surfaces whose edges had weathered away, the coping of the dwarf walls on which the paired columns rested (Fig. 2). All these were in Purbeck marble and had traces on them of the mortar of Period II. Two further abaci were found built into the east wall of the Cloister (Period III), and a broken capital with a quantity of Purbeck shafting came from the south-west corner of the cloister garth. Altogether some ten feet of Purbeck shafting of the correct diameter for these columns was found in the course of the work, most of it in or near the Cloister, and it is clear that Butley possessed in Period II an open cloister arcade with paired columns on a dwarf wall of a characteristic French type, such as has been noted by Prof. W. R. Lethaby

at Southwark, Canterbury, Norwich, Kirkstall and Bridlington,¹ and by Mr. A. W. Clapham at Lesnes.² In Period III, however, this was completely replaced, and two possible reasons may be assigned for the change. In the first place the Purbeck marble



INCHES.



FIG. 2. CAPITALS AND BASES FROM THE EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY CLOISTER

¹ *Arch. Journal*, lxxi (1914), pp. 155-160.

² A. W. Clapham, *Lesnes Abbey* (1915), Pl. xxiv, D.

employed was unsuited to work in the open, and most of the fragments found showed marked weathering on the side which must have been exposed to the open conditions of the garth. Secondly, it was impossible to glaze the openings of such an arcade, and the rising standard of monastic comfort probably induced a demand for an arrangement which would permit the life of the house to be carried on with more protection from the wind and rain. At any rate, on the north, east, and at least part of the south side the Purbeck arcade was replaced by walls which no doubt carried glazeable windows built with the hard white mortar characteristic of Period III. The same may have happened on the west, but the evidence of the short stretches of wall here examined was inconclusive. At the same time apparently a facing of local crag blocks was built along the back wall of the north and west walks of the Cloister, perhaps to form a long continuous bench projecting a foot or eighteen inches from the wall. In the north walk this bench partly overran an earlier burial in a plain stone coffin, probably of the thirteenth century, which lay close against the south aisle wall 15 feet from its junction with the south transept, with the result that this burial alone of all those found in the excavations had escaped molestation and disturbance by later plunderers.¹ At this time, too, the drain which ran past this coffin was constructed east and west under the cloister floor with a branch leading south into the garth: its purpose is not very obvious, for the roof-drainage of the south side of the nave would presumably have been carried straight into the garth over the roof of the cloister. The drain, where not constructed of pieces of the early cloister, was built of bricks measuring 11 inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$, and it is of one build with the cloister wall of Period III where it passes through this into the garth.

The east wall of the cloister and part at least of the south was again reconstructed at a later period which cannot be closely dated. A narrower wall, only 18 inches wide, overlies the wall of Period III in this area, and while the latter, as we have seen, contains reused

¹ See p. 279.

material from the early cloister, this wall of Period IV produced not merely pieces of Purbeck shafting but also a reused fragment of naturalistic grape ornament which is not likely to be earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century. At the same time, it would appear, the floor level of the cloister walk was raised about 3 inches all round, for two superimposed cement surfaces were noted in the east, north, and west walks, and on the east they can be definitely associated with the walls of Periods III and IV.

At the south-west corner of the cloister wall an interesting piece of medieval sanitary engineering was found. A stone-built conduit here passes under the wall and crosses the south walk in a south-easterly direction to pass through the Refectory wall beyond. It carried off rain water from the cloister roofs and possibly also the waste water from the *Lavatorium*. At the point where the channel passes under the cloister wall a square inspection chamber had been constructed covered by a capstone which could be easily raised by means of an iron handle 3 inches long, the ends of which were securely set in lead-filled sockets in the stone. Two slots in the stone sides of the chamber would permit the insertion of a sluice to stop the flow of water during inspection or repairs to the channel lower down. Where the conduit passed under the cloister walk it had been covered by segmental arch-shaped capstones, two of which were still in position.

The domestic buildings surrounding the cloister may now be briefly noticed, beginning with the east walk.

Adjoining the south transept, and communicating with it by a doorway, the lowest course of the jambs of which are preserved, was a chamber some 13 feet wide, which also communicated with the cloister walk by a doorway 5 feet 6 inches in width. The whole of this chamber, which was probably the *Vestyary* of William Pakeman's Will (see Appendix 3 above), was covered by modern buildings but means were found to remove the brick floor of the latter at its west end for a brief inspection of the foundations beneath. The length from east to west could not be determined: the south-west angle was built up with masonry, the footings of a corner pier to carry stone vaulting.

South of this chamber lay the *Chapter-house*, whose internal dimensions were 48 feet in length and 20 feet 6 inches in width. This building underlay the eastern part of the farm-yard and ran across the road to Abbey Farm and so could not be properly explored. The west wall, the inner face of the south wall, the south east angle with its buttress foundations, and part of the east wall only could be hastily examined. Efforts to find the north wall between the modern buildings and the road were unsuccessful, the foundations being here completely removed. For its northern 8 feet the west wall was 5 foot 9 inches wide, a foot wider than the rest, the change being marked by an internal offset without any difference of build. The Chapter-house was apparently built in Period II; minor repairs to the south-east angle being made in Period IV.

South of the Chapter-house a solid mass of masonry 19 feet from east to west and 9 feet from north to south, somewhat disturbed by a modern but now demolished brick wall which ran through it, marked the foundation of the day stair from the *Dormitory* running straight into the cloister walk.¹ The *Dormitory Undercroft*, divided by walls of different widths and later date (apparently Period IV) into five unequal apartments, the second of which may have been a passage or *Slype*, ran 99 feet southwards from the chapter-house and had an internal width of 21 feet. It was terminated on the south with three flat buttresses and was of Period II, with the exception of the southern portion of the western wall, which appeared to be of a different and later build. This wall contained a doorway splayed inwards at its southern end, and a similar doorway was noticed in the southern internal partition, on the threshold of which two of the dragon or panther tiles in high relief (Fig. 5, nos. 4 and 6) were laid upside down in a bed of mortar.

The inner face only of the east wall of the Undercroft could be examined owing to the presence of the road, and a conduit was found in the south-eastern corner of the northern chamber. This consisted of a stone-lined passage 5 inches high internally and 4 inches wide covered with large capstones some

¹ The daystair is in this position also at Castle Acre.

14 inches long by 8 inches wide. On reaching the partition wall the drain made a right-angle turn to the west and disappeared under the modern barns: if it continued on this alignment it would have joined the drain already described in the south walk of the Cloister. Three feet north of the right-angle turn the conduit was blocked by an upright slab pierced by a circular hole large enough to carry a 3-inch lead pipe. This slab formed a side of a chamber 15 inches square, the capstone of which was also perforated with a rather smaller circular hole through which a lead pipe must have passed upwards through the floor which immediately overlay it into the chamber above. This probably connected a basin above with the conduit below, and it would appear that the conduit itself was a branch of the main water supply which has been described above in its passage across the church. There can be little doubt in fact that we are here on the track of the *cloaca in dormitorio*, whose flushing system in 1526 was in need of 'reformation' (p. 205).

From the south end of the dormitory range a passage led eastward to the north end of the Canons' *Reredorter*, to which access was obtained direct from the Dormitory on the first floor. A doorway in the north wall of the passage on the ground floor was also found. The *Reredorter* proper was the same width as, but somewhat shorter than the Barn which now occupies its site and preserves part of its structure, for the section of the passage adjoining the north end of the original building is incorporated in the Barn, the north wall of the *Reredorter* having been removed. The internal dimensions of the original building were 60 feet from north to south and 18 feet from east to west. The eastern side of it was occupied by the massive stone drain 3 feet wide, whose exit at the south end is still marked by a semicircular relieving arch in the barn wall. That a great part of the wall above is medieval may be seen from the remains of the corbel table which carried the beams of the first floor. The water supply entered through the north wall in a stone barrel vaulted conduit 18 inches wide, the part of which remaining outside the *Reredorter*,

but inside the barn is very well preserved, though it was not found possible to trace it further to the north, owing to the farm buildings and sheds. At a later period, probably after the Dissolution, a brick barrel-vaulted conduit was inserted right down the original open drain, thus defeating its purpose: this was probably contemporary with the removal of the north wall, the inner wall of the drain, and the first floor of the Reredorter, and with its conversion from sanitary to agricultural purposes. A drawing by Isaac Johnson in his *Excursions on the Sea Coast of Suffolk* (1831) seems to represent this structure after conversion, but roofless. A mediæval angle buttress, later than the original structure, is still preserved at the south-west corner, and the scar of a similar one may be seen on the south-east corner of the building.

Returning to the Cloister we may note that the whole of the southern range is still covered by buildings, of which the most important is the great Barn, occupying the site and incorporating part of the structure of the *Refectory*. This, which was 22 feet wide and at least 70 feet long—the present west wall is not original,—must have been a very striking building, but the only remaining part of certainly mediæval date is the north-west angle, where on the external face the jagged return of the western range can be seen right up to the present eaves. The outside of the south wall whose lines run without a break to the south-western corner of the western range would also appear to be largely mediæval, though the original windows have been replaced by four-centred openings in brick. The roof is no more than a fine barn roof, probably of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Between the east wall of the *Refectory* and the *Dormitory Undercroft* there was room for a chamber some 24 by 22 feet, which may have been the *Warming House*. The kitchen was possibly at the western end of the south range, but the modern buildings here make excavation impossible.

The Western Range, as usual, seems to have contained the cellarage and store rooms, though very little could be done to elucidate their internal plan

owing to the presence of modern structures on two-thirds of the area, and disturbances caused by farm-yard drainage and a large ashpit on the remaining third. It was ascertained, however, that the original range was built in Period II, for its eastern wall is of one build with the south aisle of the nave, though a later facing of huge flint blocks was added to its western face in Period IV. Part of the Period II western wall was also found on two different alignments: it included a buttress and a large porch-like structure with internal dimensions 13 feet by 15, projecting westward from the main range. Immediately north of this a deep brick-lined conduit led westwards from a vent in the main west wall. South of the porch a recent ashpit prevented further investigation, but it was clear that substantial alterations, amounting to complete rebuilding, took place here in Period IV. The porch was removed at this time, a new crag-built conduit running south-west across its site replaced the earlier conduit which ran due west, and the whole of the main west wall of the range was rebuilt with bright yellow mortar on a slightly different alignment. The new wall was supported by a very wide buttress immediately south of the nave. It may have been at this time, too, that some puzzling internal walls and partitions were inserted, but it was impossible to recover with certainty either their purpose or their date. Against the cloister walk a stretch of tile paving was, however, found *in situ* apparently contemporary with them, the associated tile types from which will be discussed below.

The Precinct Wall. (See Fig. 1, p. 230.)

It has not been found possible to trace the whole circuit of the Precinct Wall which is nowhere preserved above ground. On the west, however, its course immediately beyond the Priory Fish-ponds had long been suspected by Dr. Rendall and several cuts revealed the flint foundations varying from 18 inches to 2 feet in width along the whole length of the ponds. Northwards, too, it has been traced by Mr. Ward Perkins through the woods on the same alignment as

far as the track leading to the Gatehouse, where on the south edge of the track the corner was found and the return of the wall, here somewhat wider, pointing towards the Gatehouse. After a few feet, however, it broke away and disappeared. Excavation west of the Gatehouse failed to reveal any certain traces: it will be remembered that this area has been the scene of more than one addition to the Gatehouse in post-Medieval times, and the ground here was in consequence very much disturbed.

South of the fish ponds the wall follows the same alignment as far as the hedge. Here it takes a bend south-westwards, making an angle of 17 degrees with its previous line, and the flint and freestone foundations were revealed in several cuts on this course until a point 149 feet from the hedge, where a right angle corner is made to the east. The foundations ran eastwards on a line pointing towards the north side of the Refectory for 12 feet, after which they are broken away; and some 60 feet eastwards again traces of a building of post-Medieval date were found. The walls of this were constructed of reused material, crag blocks with mortared faces outwards, brick, flint and freestone fragments, probably from the grubbed-up Precinct Wall, and the remains of an adjacent mediaeval shed whose foundations were marked in each case by robber trenches filled in with clean sand. The *floruit* of the later building is roughly determined by fragments of sixteenth-century pottery found stratified in and under its brick and cement floor, and by the fact that it does not appear in Isaac Johnson's Survey made at the end of the eighteenth century, by which time it must have been removed. The evidence of the robber trenches for an earlier mediaeval building on much the same site was confirmed by the discovery of an iron spur (c. 1400) a quantity of pottery fragments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and several pieces of glazed tiles of types found in the church.

The remaining sections of the Precinct Wall remain uncertain. It may be guessed that on the east it followed the course of the road east of Chapel Wood.

4. THE PRIORY WHARF OR LANDING STAGE

By J. B. WARD PERKINS

A further site was excavated in January and July 1933 in a field about 200 yards south-west of the Priory Church. This consisted of a marshy depression leading into a now much silted but clearly artificial canal which in turn joins the Butley river and so reaches the sea about three miles away. In view of Butley's isolation by land and the possibility of considerable traffic by sea, it was hoped that this would prove to be the site of a dock or wharf attached to the Priory.

January's work sufficed to show the main outlines of the site (Fig. 3). It revealed that in monastic times the strip of land for some 50 yards from the present depression to the south edge of the field had been marsh; and that at some date after the sixteenth century, as the stratified pottery showed, and before 1790 when Isaac Johnson made his plan of Butley, the whole area was filled in with three or four feet of dumped earth and rubbish. Before the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the sea wall was built up the Butley river, the tide must have run right up to the Priory. In the middle ages, at Butley as elsewhere in East Anglia, there is evidence of great incursions of the sea (see pp. 185, 226, 227), and the Priory grounds then abutted straight upon tidal marshes.

The limit of these at this point was marked by a massive wall facing south and running 60 feet west from the depression; it is now completely buried. In its final form it is constructed for the most part of heavy mortar-rubble, partly sunk in made earth as a foundation, partly, it seems, free-standing and faced with timber. In all it measures about 4 feet 9 inches from top to bottom, and 4 feet 6 inches across. At roughly 20 feet intervals there are three buttresses strengthened by crag blocks.

The easternmost part of the wall is of more solid construction, consisting of large squared blocks of

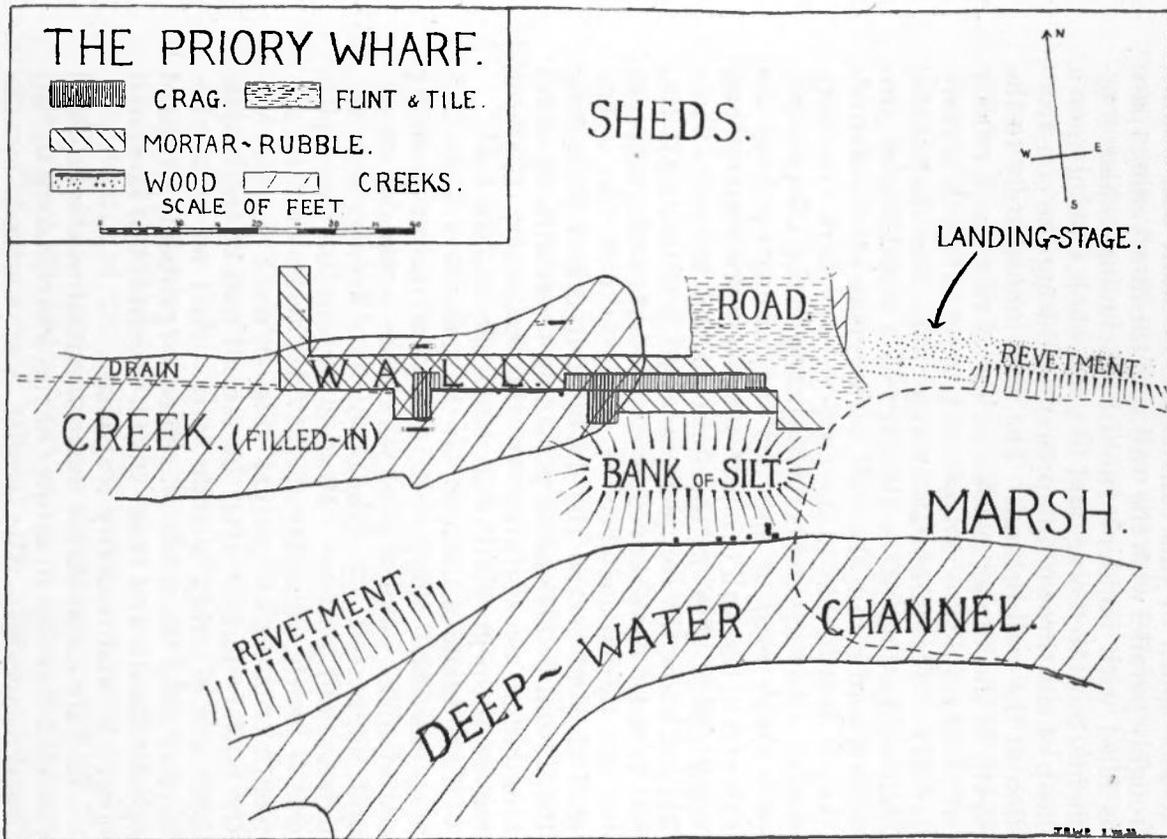


FIG. 3

crag upon a projecting mortar-rubble foundation. 18 feet south of this runs a line of stout oak baulks, roughly parallel with the wall, and the intervening space is filled with builder's rubbish, including ashlar fragments, mortared crag, and tile, the whole resting upon a heap of silt thrown up apparently during the construction of the wall behind. The area immediately to the south of the timber baulks yielded a rich black muddy silt, containing much fourteenth to seventeenth-century pottery. This presumably represents the deep-water channel leading up to the face of a wooden pier projecting south from the wall, whose more solid construction is intelligible if its purpose was here to carry traffic. And the conjecture is borne out by the presence of a rough road of flint and tile leading up from the east end of the wall to a platform of similar material and complicated plan on the level ground behind. Time did not allow the complete excavation of this platform, but it must have served to carry sheds and outhouses for the accommodation of goods landed here. The wall in front served the double purpose of protecting these from floods and of providing them with the solid foundation necessitated by the extremely unstable nature of the grey silt upon which the whole is built.

East again of the road are the remains of a landing-stage for small boats. It is built of timber planking nailed upon wooden piles which are embedded in silt and supported by fillings of roof-tile, oystershell, mortar and pottery. Pierced by one of these piles was a nearly complete medieval pitcher of the fourteenth or fifteenth century (Fig. 8, no. 8): otherwise the pottery ranged over the second half of the middle ages and possibly a little later. And at some subsequent date the whole was filled in, probably to guard against floods, and faced with a revetment of mortared crag, tile, and masonry fragments.

In July excavations were extended westwards and revealed that the structures of the wharf belong to two distinct periods. The earlier was marked by the revetment of the north face of the deep-water channel which was traced for 90 feet running from a south-westerly direction towards the pier discovered in

January. At the same time a creek running westwards from about the central buttress of the wall and impeding access to the deep-water channel was filled in; a section across it 12 feet west of the west end of the wall showed that a thick layer of faggots was first thrown in, then 18 inches of earth, and finally 6 inches of hard clay and mortar. In all an area of from 20 to 50 feet wide was reclaimed, thus bringing the deep-water channel directly along the edge of the Priory grounds. Further examination of the wall showed that much of the timber work underlying it belongs to an earlier structure than the present wall; it followed the same plan as the later work but was built solely of timber. Subsequently the remains of this timber and the faggots of the filled-in creek served as a valuable foundation for the rubble and crag wall.

The second period saw the replacement of the timber work by the more solid materials still extant. Possibly, too, the pier at the east end of the wall dates from this time. There are no traces of timber beneath the wall east of the middle buttress, and none of the pottery from the mud in front of the pier precedes the second half of the fourteenth century.

The angle of the west end of the wall intersected the clearly determined line of an early earthenware drain running eastwards from some unknown spot along the line of the filled-in creek; its purpose was not determined. The drain-pipe is of a rough grey fabric and unfortunately cannot be dated more closely than thirteenth or fourteenth century. It had clearly been laid down when the faggots of the creek-fill were already in a condition very similar to that in which they now are. Thus the original lay-out of the wharf may with much probability be dated well back in the thirteenth century, possibly even as far back as the foundation of the Priory in 1171: in view of the difficulties in dating mediaeval pottery, especially the rougher and probably local wares, of which the pottery from this site mainly consists, the absence of clearly datable early pottery is inconclusive. At some later date when the drain had already passed out of use the wharf was rebuilt in a more solid manner. From the

great amount of roof-tile, both glazed and unglazed, of reused crag, and of other building materials employed in this reconstruction, it is tempting to equate it with the great reconstruction of the monastic buildings in the fourteenth century. Such an occasion might well call for the renewal of the port by which much of the material was to enter.

No traces were found of any radical alterations subsequent to this. The pottery shows that the wharf continued in use for some time after the Dissolution. Much of the material robbed from the church may well have left by the same route as that by which it had once entered. But in the seventeenth or eighteenth century Butley had no more use for a port, and it became merely a dumping ground for rubbish and unneeded earth. And with the nineteenth even the sea left it.

5. THE FINDS

By J. N. L. MYRES

The Tiles (Pls. viii, ix, and Figs. 4-7).

By far the most interesting 'small objects' from the excavations were the floor tiles, which occurred in considerable quantities, not merely in stretches of pavement still *in situ*, but also loose among the debris of the destroyed buildings.

The processes employed in the Middle Ages in the manufacture of decorated floor tiles are well known. In the commonest method, which may be termed the 'inlaid process,' the design was impressed upon the unbaked clay with a wooden die, or mould, and the sunk parts of the pattern were filled with light clay, the tile being afterwards glazed so that the design shows up white or yellow against a red background, and the whole surface of the tile should be quite flat. A similar and less cumbersome, though also less durable method, was to lay the design in stencil upon the surface of the tile and fill in the background with a thin wash of white slip, the whole being afterwards glazed. This was less satisfactory, for the glaze when affected by wear and tear was apt to come away taking the slip and so the design with it: in the other method the wearing of the glaze had no effect on the countersunk pattern beneath. A process intermediate between the two was also employed at Butley, in which though a stamp must have been used it was very lightly impressed, and the design thinly painted in with a wash of slip. Examples produced by this method are often scarcely distinguishable from the true stencilled tiles. Occasionally, too, freehand designs were painted on the tile in white slip, but this is extremely rare.

Yet another process was sometimes used when a stamped design was impressed on the tile, which was then glazed, so that the pattern was raised or embossed, and the tile depended on surface relief rather than on contrasted colouring for its effect. Tiles of this type are often supposed to have been manufactured for wall

decoration rather than for floors, for the raised parts of the design would destroy the evenness of a floor and would themselves rapidly wear down with treading, thus obliterating the pattern. There is evidence, however, that they were not intended solely for walls : in other places beside Butley embossed tiles were used on the floors and were certainly manufactured for this purpose. But their practical inconvenience made their use exceptional in England.

The main interest of the series from Butley lies in the unusual range of these rare types, and the comparative scarcity of the common ones. Tiles of the normal 'inlaid technique' are at Butley very uncommon, and confined to certain designs whose distribution is almost universal. Stencilled designs, whether true stencil or produced by painting after a very light impression, are more frequent, and there is, on the other hand, a very wide range of embossed tiles, the great majority of all the tiles found being of this type and many of these designs are unparalleled elsewhere. It has been suggested that the prevalence of this technique may have been due to the absence of light clay in the neighbourhood of Butley suitable for use in the inlaying process, and it is certainly possible to point to one or two specimens where an embossed tile has apparently been produced by the simple omission of the white inlay before the tile was glazed. But the majority of the embossed tiles were certainly made from stamps carefully cut to form patterns in relief. It is in point of fact fairly easy to distinguish between the impress of stamps intended for inlaying, where the depressions are angular and of more or less uniform depth, and those intended for embossing where the rounded contours of the modelling often, as in the interlacing designs in several planes (Fig. 5, nos. 1 and 3), involve a far greater degree of skill in making the stamp. And while these intricacies of relief are confined to the earlier types, the later tiles in this technique have designs which in their own way are equally unsuited to the inlaying process (esp. e.g. Fig. 6, nos. 2 and 5). The embossed technique, in fact, lent itself far more readily than the commoner

processes to the development of an artistic tradition : and the well-known difficulties which beset the path of any who set out to arrange mediaeval tiles in chronological order here largely disappear. The Butley

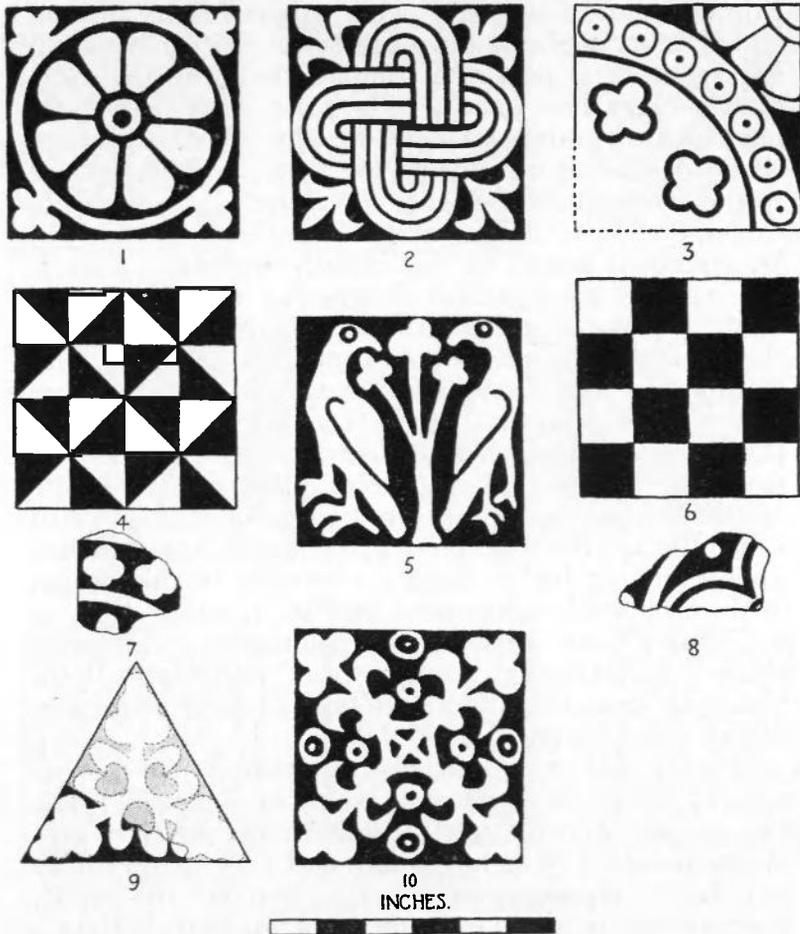


FIG. 4. TILES

embossed tiles introduce us indeed to a branch of medieval craftsmanship which would repay deeper study than is here possible. Before describing them, however, a word must be said of the examples showing the more familiar processes.

Most of them may be found on Figs. 4 and 7. Fig. 4, nos. 4 and 6 are inlaid tiles of very common types based on simple mosaic designs. The distribution of 4 with its variations is exceptionally wide. Local examples occur in the Museums of Bury St. Edmunds, and Colchester, while others from Evesham and St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, are in the British Museum. Fig. 4, no. 3, is part of a complex design in the same class as Fig. 7, nos. 3 and 4. Fig. 7, no. 2 may have been made with a stamp intended for the inlaying process, though it is not in fact inlaid. Fig. 6, no. 8, which belongs to the same school as Fig. 4, nos. 4 and 6, is however in the embossed technique and is parallel to a tile from an unknown source in the British Museum. Fig. 7, nos. 3 and 4, are stencilled designs in a style familiar in many localities: at St. Albans, for example, though these exact patterns do not seem to occur there. At Butley they were found in association with one another and with Fig. 4, no. 1, in the undercroft of the Dormitory from which all the traces of the pavement *in situ* had, however, disappeared. Fig. 7, no. 4, the smallest of the group, measured 4.85 inches square and 1 inch thick, while Fig. 4, no. 1, the largest, was 5 inches square and 1.2 inches thick: a parallel to this design in the embossed technique is on Fig. 5, no. 2. Fig. 4, nos. 7 and 8, are parts of tiles belonging to this same group: so is Fig. 4, no. 9, a rare triangular tile, of which an example was also found divided vertically in half before firing.

Fig. 4, nos. 2, 5 and 10 are examples of designs painted in on the light impression of a stamp. The two former occurred unstratified, in the western part of the nave: 5 (5 inches square and 1.15 inches thick) is a rather clumsy example of a familiar tile motif, it occurs e.g. in a C13 example from St. Peter's Metz,¹ and as part of complex designs at Jervaulx, Salisbury chapter-house and Worcester:² an effective version of it with the tree diagonally set, may be seen in Winchester Cathedral: 10 is a decadent version of a

¹ Forrer, *Fliesenkeramik*, fig. 152, p. 70.

² H. Shaw, *Specimens of Tile Pavements* (1858), Pls. ix, xxiv and xxx.

design which occurs in the embossed technique at North Berwick:¹ further parallels with the North Berwick tiles will be noticed shortly.

With Fig. 5 we reach the embossed tiles.

The earliest of these, and also the finest, are the

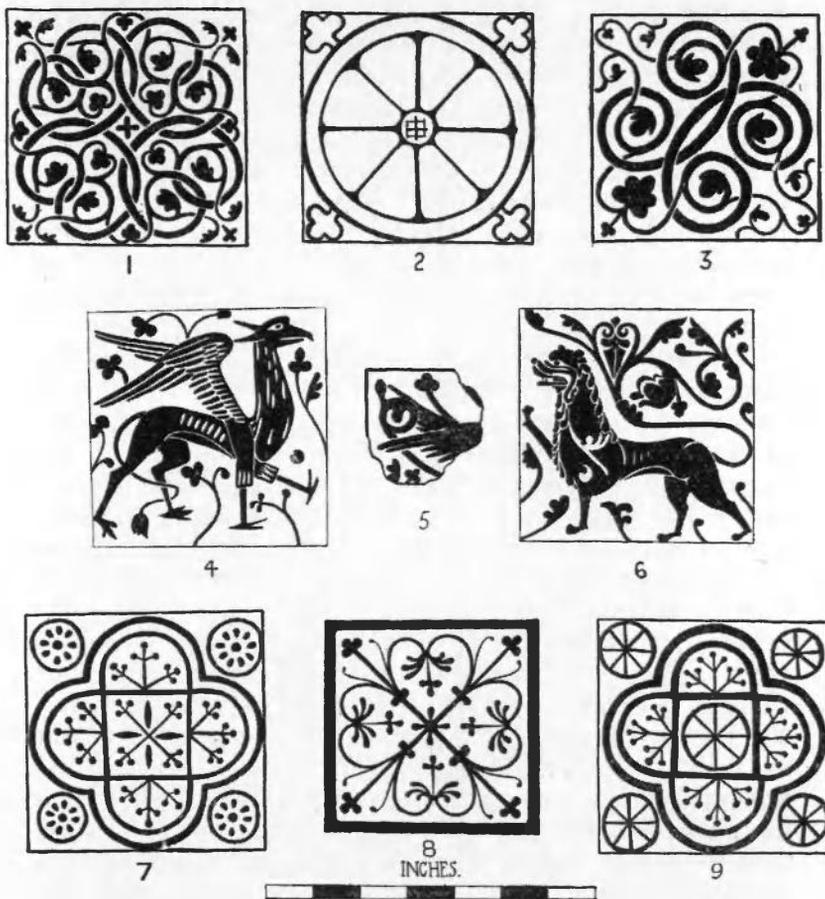


FIG. 5. EMBOSSED TILES

interlacing designs, nos. 1 and 3, and the heraldic animals, nos. 4 and 6 (no. 5 seems to be part of a variant of no. 4). Although none of these were found *in situ*

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, lxiii (1928-29), p. 299, fig. 15, no. 5.

in positions which enable their date to be archaeologically proved there is no doubt that all four belong to the thirteenth century. Stratified examples of 6 were found re-laid upside down in the threshold of the doorway between the two southernmost chambers in the undercroft of the Dormitory, and several unused examples of 4 were in a dump which had been deliberately buried under the floor at the west end of the north nave aisle (Period II): perhaps they were left over from the original flooring of the aisle in the thirteenth century. No examples of 1 and 3 were found in stratified positions. The dimensions of the group are similar. They range from 4.85 to 5 inches square and from 1 inch to 1.1 inches thick: the glaze is either black, purple or varying shades of green: in some cases it has been rather over-lavishly applied and has obscured the details of the design.

Examples of the two heraldic animals from the same stamps as the Butley tiles have been found at Leiston Abbey, sixteen miles away to the north, one of no. 4 being still in situ on the threshold of the Dormitory doorway at the top of the day stair:¹ but other close parallels are hard to find. A very similar tile showing a lion with floral appendages in the embossed technique from Castle Acre is in the Norwich Castle Museum (no. 6246), but the animal faces the other way. Most of the Castle Acre embossed series were made at the Bawsey kilns near King's Lynn, but there is no connection at all in style between this and the Bawsey designs, which occur all over north Norfolk as well as at Castle Acre. Mr. J. S. Richardson² has published a series of tiles from North Berwick which includes Dragon and Panther designs in the same technique but though there are strong similarities in the floriated tails and general treatment there are also differences: the tiles are larger than the Butley examples, the animals are set in a circular floral

¹ Leiston though founded in 1182, was moved to its present site only in 1363. Were it not for the other available evidence that large parts of the earlier structure were removed *en bloc* this would be good evidence for these tiles being of the fourteenth

century. But to Canons who moved whole piers, the relaying of old tiles need have presented no difficulty: see *Archaeologia* 73, (1923), p. 137.

² *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, lxiii, pp. 281-310, esp. figs. 16 and 17, nos. 1 and 2.



EMBOSSSED TILES

(Scale about $\frac{3}{4}$; see Fig. 5, nos. 3 and 4)



EMBOSSSED TILES

(Scale about $\frac{3}{4}$; see Fig. 5, nos. 1 and 6)

medallion, and the designs are not so vigorous. Indeed in this quality, and in their delicate finish, the Butley tiles are in a class by themselves. Mr. Richardson mentions no English or French parallels

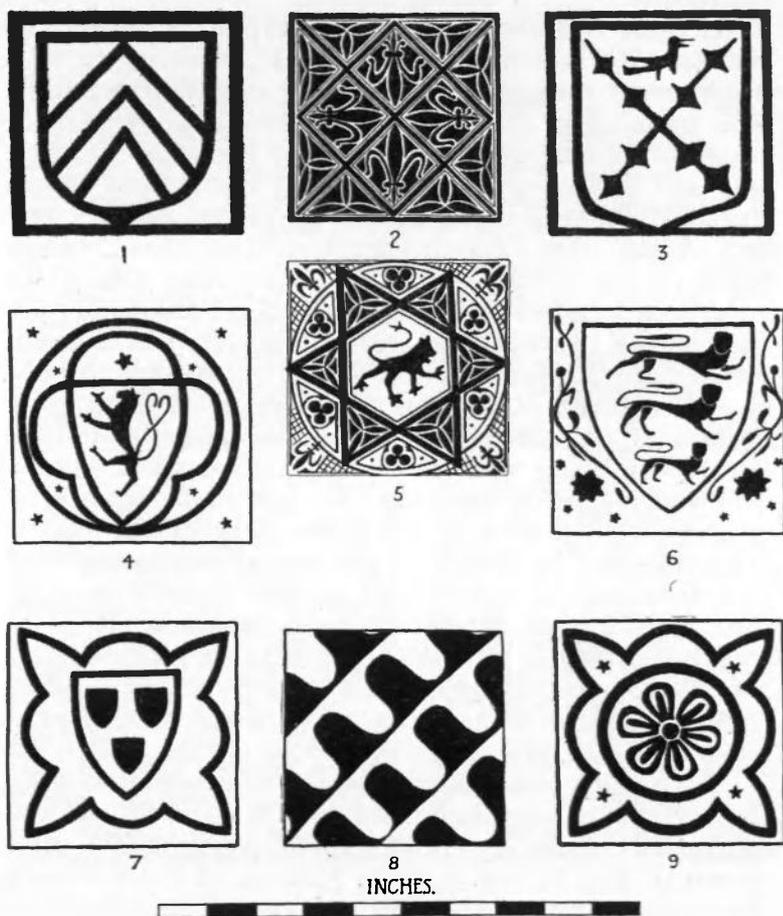


FIG. 6. TILES

but cites the Zoffingen tiles (Switzerland) as a possible clue to their origin.¹ Butley, Leiston, Castle Acre,

¹ Forrer, *Fliesenkeramik*, Pl. xiv, nos. 10, 11, 12. It must, however, be noted that the parallelism of these with the Butley tiles is even less than with the North Berwick ones. I very

much doubt the value of the comparison; but see next note for a further link between Butley and the Rhineland.

and North Berwick were certainly all well placed for the introduction of foreign artistic products, and the east coast distribution, so far recorded, though not likely to be exhaustive, may well be significant.

If these thirteenth-century examples, or rather the stamps with which they were made, were imports, it would seem that at Butley at any rate the technique took root. Fig. 5, nos. 7, 8, 9, show raised designs of floral and semi-floral types less vigorous in style and probably later in date. Examples of 7 and 8 were stratified in association in the pavement at the west end of the nave: they occurred alternating with a plain tile in the line of tiles demarcating the south nave arcade and the adjacent panel of diagonally set tiles in the central aisle. No. 9 occurred in a small piece of flooring preserved in the north transept and has also been found at Leiston: it is merely a degenerate version of no. 7, the corner rosettes and the central floral motif being replaced by ugly eight-spoked wheels. The dimensions of these tiles are 4.9 inches square by .9 inches thick and they are glazed dark green. No. 8 is reminiscent in design of the much larger embossed tiles from which those covering the present floor in the presbytery at St. Albans were copied in the nineteenth century. Mr. Ward Perkins has drawn my attention to an example of 8 with very slight changes from West Dereham Abbey, Norfolk, now in the Norwich Castle Museum.

Two other associated groups of embossed tiles show different developments which occurred in the fourteenth century. A pavement composed of tiles shown in Fig. 6, nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, covered the whole of the western part of the south choir aisle as rebuilt in Period III east of the remaining arch. This pavement—which owed its preservation to the fact that it had been covered by 8 inches of make up on the top of which a floor of coarse, large, plain, glazed green and yellow tiles had been laid, probably early in the sixteenth century—was badly worn and mainly composed of nos. 2 and 5, designs of considerable complexity executed in shallow relief and influenced apparently

by a mosaic tradition.¹ The two heraldic tiles, no. 1 (Clare) and no. 3 (probably Tiptoft or Botetourt) with a martlet for difference occurred less frequently, and the form of shield probably indicates a date not much before 1400. Both coats, though undifferenced, occur

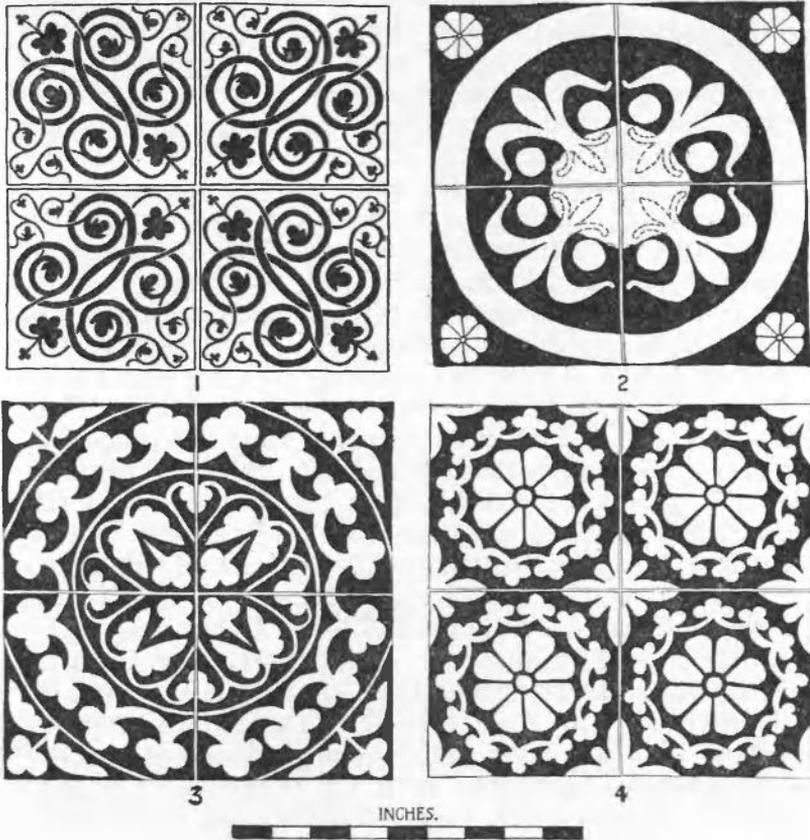


FIG. 7. TILES

on the Gatehouse (c. 1320). The tiles were set diagonally in panels demarcated by a single line running east and west, and while no other patterns but these

¹A parallel to the fleur de lys design from Strassburg is assigned to C 13 by Forrer (*loc. cit.*, Pl. viii, 4), but the technique is different, the

design being outlined only with impressed lines, and the tile being unglazed.

four occurred their arrangement was purely at random. The dimensions of nos. 2 and 5 were 4.7 inches square and .9 inches thick : and all four designs were glazed in a variety of colours, of which very dark green, canary yellow, and bright orange were the commonest. The effect when new must have been very striking. Tiles divided diagonally were necessary for the edges of each panel, and it was observed that, though no. 2 was the only one which lends itself readily to this treatment, all four designs were so divided, several cases being noted of the Clare arms being split across before the tile was fired. It will be observed that the designer of the stamp has made no allowance for the reversal of the design on the tile : the lion rampant on no. 5 and the martlet on no. 3 are both facing in an unusual heraldic direction.

The other group consists of Fig. 6, nos. 4, 6, 7 and 9. These were stratified together in a pavement in the western range of Cloister buildings which seemed contemporary with the alterations of Period IV. That they are not far removed in date from the preceding group though very distinct in style may be surmised from a stretch of pavement in the Period III north choir aisle near its junction with the transept. Here nos. 4 and 6 appeared in company with 2 and 5 and also with 8 (all on Fig. 6). Some of them were also found in the small chapel added in Period IV to the east of the extended north transept. Thus though the form of shield might seem earlier than that of nos. 1 and 3, the architectural associations of this group seem to suggest a rather later date. The designs are simple, almost barren compared with the others, and largely heraldic in character : the scattering of small stars about the field is also typical. The glaze is orange brown with one or two examples in dark olive green. The identification of the heraldry is not very easy : the lion 'doublequeued' of no. 4 may be de Cressy or de Burghersh :¹ the three inescutcheons of no. 7, which occur also on the Gatehouse are Danvilliers.

¹ Hugh and Margery de Cressy were benefactors of Butley, *East Anglian*, *loc. cit.*, p. 46. Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh presented to the neighbouring vicarage of Chesilford in 1358, *Nor. Ep. Reg. v*, fo. 29.

It will be noted that the leopards of England in no. 6 are facing the wrong way.

Pottery and Glass Vessels (Fig. 8).

Very little mediaeval pottery occurred in the course of the excavations on the site of the Church and

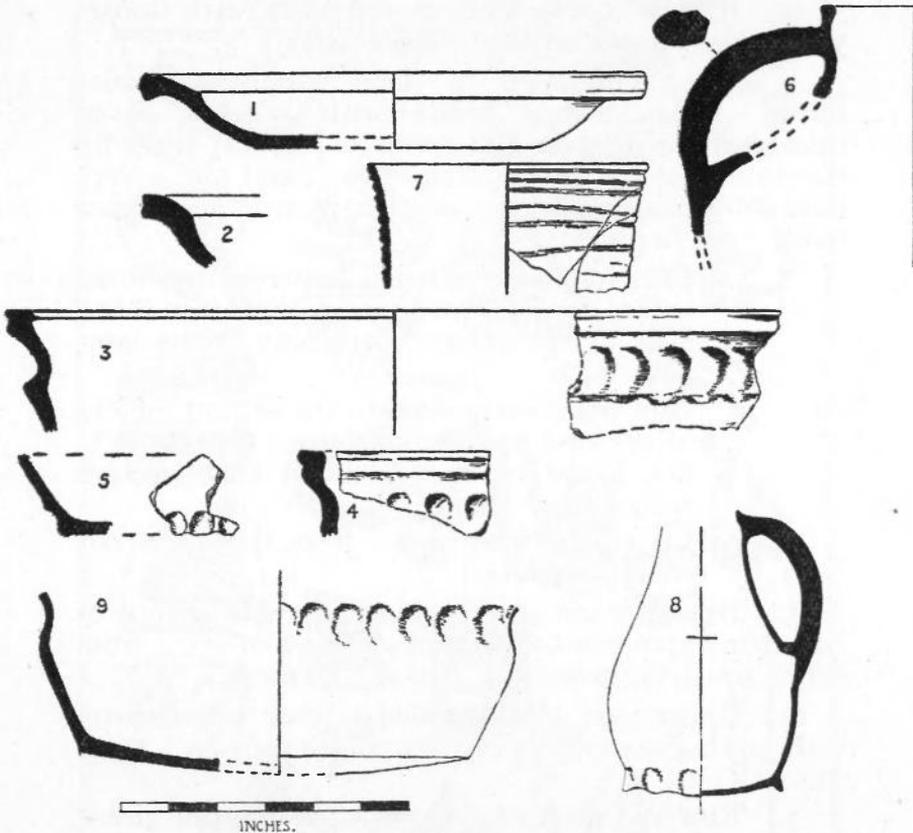


FIG. 8. POTTERY (all $\frac{1}{4}$ except 8, which is $\frac{1}{8}$)

domestic buildings, though rather more was found in the dock and in the building abutting on the precinct wall to the west (see p. 259). Most of the pieces illustrated are common forms of pitchers and dishes, but attention should be drawn to the three pieces of low wide-mouthed bowls with finger mark impressions on the neck, and sagging bases (nos. 3, 4, 9). This seems to

have been a popular type at Butley though it is rare elsewhere. The glass vessel (no. 7) recalls with its corded neck the form of some early Saxon tumblers.

1. Red ware dish, inside surfaces completely glazed in olive green, with a little glaze on the outside. Unstratified.

2. Rather coarser dish in red ware with orange yellow glaze inside and out. Unstratified.

3, 4, 9. Fragments of three vessels of similar form: wide shallow bowls with sagging bases, thickened flat-topped rims, and a line of finger-tip decoration on the hollow neck. No. 3 and 9 in a very hard brownish-grey ware: no. 4 light grey and rather sandy: all unglazed.

3. Rim fragment jammed between two stone coffins under the floor of the later south aisle of the choir: not likely to be later than 1400.

4. Rim fragment built into the second rebuild of the east wall of the cloister (Period IV): not likely to have reached this position earlier than 1400.

9. Part of side and base: from the dock, not closely stratified.

5. Base of hard grey cooking pot with groups of finger tip impressions at intervals on base of side: from debris overlying west wall of north transept.

6. Upper part of a handled pitcher in red ware with green glaze: probably fourteenth century: same site as 5.

7. Rim and neck of a vessel of pale green glass: either a tumbler or possibly a pitcher: found 2 feet deep adjacent to the north face of the north aisle wall of the nave: possibly from the foundation trench of the wall (Period II), but the stratification was not clear enough to say so with certainty: a rare glass imitation of a form common in pottery.

8. Pear-shaped pitcher of reddish-brown ware, grey core, with prominent handle and line of single finger-tip marks along the sagging base; complete



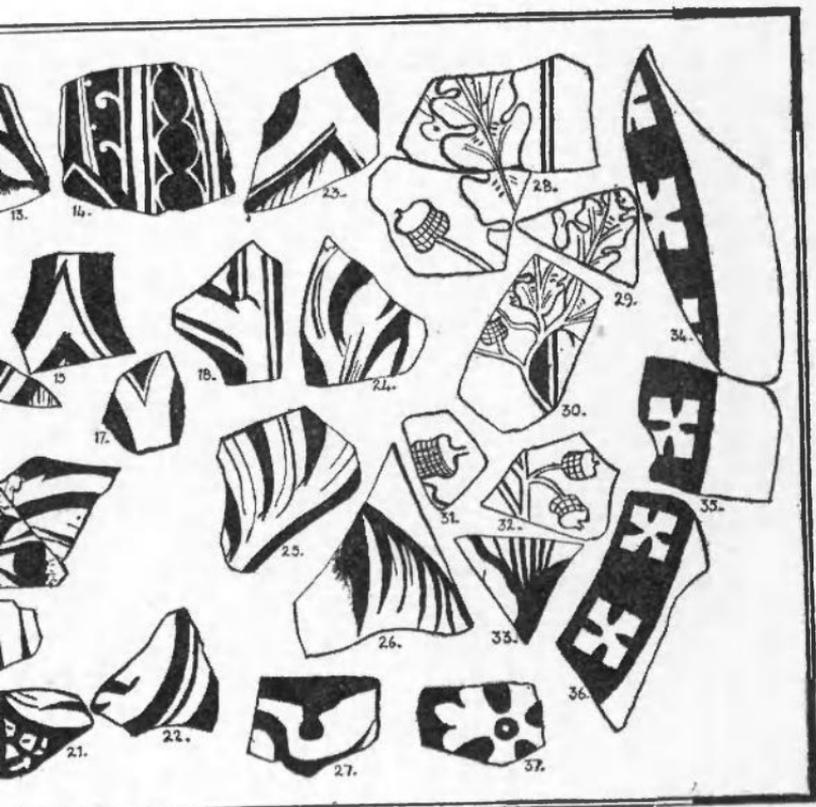


FIG. 9. GLASS

except for rim: probably late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Found transfixed by one of the piles which supported the landing stage east of the dock road (p. 262 and Fig. 3): this part of the landing stage is thus unlikely to be earlier than 1380.

A quantity of fragments of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Bellarmine ware was also found, but no complete sections of pots were obtained.

Stained Glass (Fig. 9).

Some five hundred fragments of stained glass were found in different parts of the excavations, the great majority of which occurred close together outside what must have been the westernmost window of the south choir aisle, as rebuilt in the fourteenth century (Period III), which was probably smashed at the Dissolution for the sake of its lead, a few twisted pieces of which were found. Glass also occurred in smaller quantities along both walls of the nave, in the north transept, and in the domestic buildings. It was very much decayed and all but a few pieces had entirely lost their transparency. About two hundred and forty fragments were blank, many of which had originally been coloured potmetal; some still showed brown, blue and amber, and there were a few pieces of flashed ruby glass. Of the fragments with patterns in brown enamel the best preserved are shown on Fig. 9.

NOS.

- 1-5. Two border patterns, 3 having perhaps part of a small human face.
- 6, 34-37. Stencilled diaper patterns.
 7. The hair and eye of a small human face.
 8. The lower part of a larger face.
 9. A heraldic lion from a border.
- 10-12. Fragments of inscriptions.
- 13-18. Fragments of canopies in three styles, carried out in enamel and yellow stain.
- 19-22. Parts of a face or faces.
- 23-27. Portions of drapery from large figures.
- 28-32. Naturalistic oakleaf and acorn trellis patterns.
33. Perhaps part of a floral pattern.

Human Remains

A number of burials were encountered during the excavations, all of which except that in the north walk of the cloister had been previously disturbed, in some cases so much so as to suggest that the bones had been moved from elsewhere. Fragmentary skulls of six individuals were submitted to Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, F.S.A., of the Department of Human Anatomy, University Museum, Oxford. These skulls came, one from the stone coffin in the north walk of the cloister (between 1200 and 1350), one from a stone coffin in the south aisle of the choir (probably between 1350 and 1400), one from a burial disturbed during the building of the Period II addition to the north transept (c. 1200-1250), one from the west end of the north aisle of the nave (probably after 1200), and two, not closely dateable, from the churchyard which lay north of the Priory Church. Dr. Buxton's report is as follows:—

The problems raised by the human remains excavated in the Priory are of particular interest in relation to the medieval population of England. The skulls brought back to Oxford were those of six men who were probably of a fairly advanced age when they died. With one exception, that of the man who was found in the stone coffin in the north walk of the cloister, they were all massively built individuals and one, whose stature I was able to reconstruct from his bones, stood about five feet ten inches, and must have been of very striking appearance. All have skulls of almost exactly the same shape and a cephalic index of about 83, and all except the very small man, the outside measurement of whose coffin was only 6 feet 7 inches, were large. Except for their massiveness, which appears to be an individual rather than a racial character, the canons of Butley resemble closely the well-known collection of skulls in the crypt of St. Leonard's church at Hythe, published by Parsons¹ and more recently by Stoessiger and Morant². They also closely resemble a long series from Abingdon Abbey, excavated by Miss Blackwood, and still unpublished. The same type can be seen in a skull in the Rolleston collection from a twelfth-century grave at Old Malton, in medieval skulls found at various times in Oxford and in a small collection in Oxford from other Kentish ossuaries. We have few skulls of this period from elsewhere, but it can be definitely said that our medieval skulls from Ireland do not belong to this type. Certain crania from Spitalfields published by Morant,³ closely resemble but do not entirely conform to this type.

Before discussing their racial affinities the archaeological evidence is of great importance. Morant concludes (*loc. cit.*, p. 200) that the Hythe skeletons represent people who died between 1100 and 1600, but he admits that the archaeological evidence is uncertain. It is probable that the skulls from the neighbouring ossuaries at East-

¹ *Journal of the Roy. Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxviii, 1908, pp. 419-450.

² *Biometrika*, vol. xxiv, 1932, pp. 135-202.

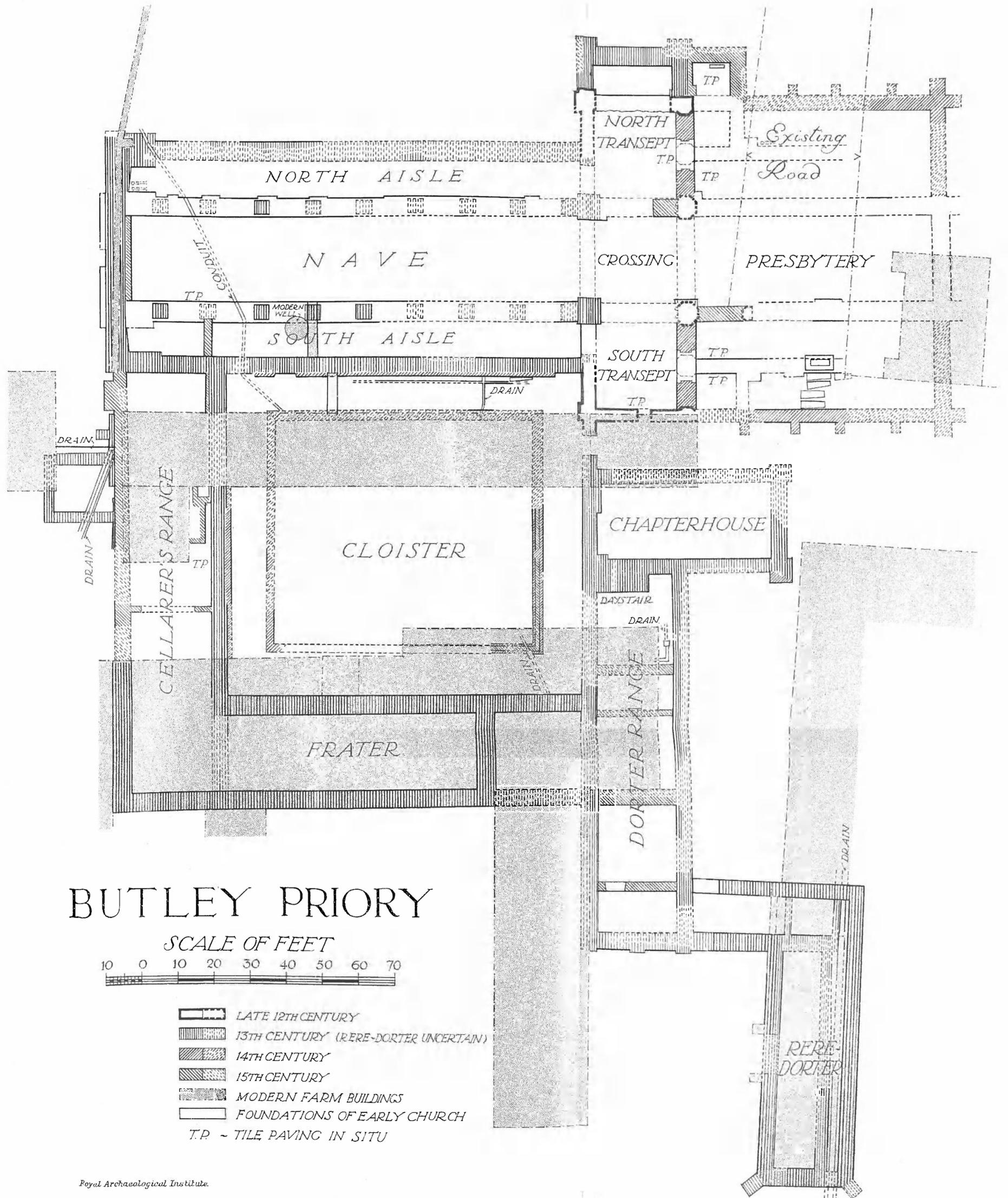
³ Morant and Hoadley, *Biometrika*, vol. xxiii, 1931, pp. 191-248.

bourne and Sittingbourne are also of medieval date. The Abingdon material is even less certain, but probably precedes the dissolution of the Abbey, the matter here being confused by the possibility that the Abbey graveyard broke into a Romano-British cemetery, but the crania do not entirely warrant this assumption, and it seems likely that all are medieval. The Spitalfields crania are considered by Morant to be possibly of Roman date, but here the evidence is entirely inconclusive. The remainder of our series are dated to medieval times. All these series are definitely unlike any other English series in their head form, having a cephalic index of 83, that is, being markedly brachycephalic. This statement must be qualified by the exception of the Bronze Age people, who have the same head form, but are much more massive. Three out of six from the Butley series which I was able to measure are certainly massive, but equally massive skulls occur in all the other medieval series, and there is no reason to doubt on other grounds that we are dealing with exceptionally big individuals, a conclusion supported by such limb bones as have survived, which are certainly larger than the average.

The racial affinities of the type have been very carefully evaluated by Morant, using elaborate statistical methods. They show close affinities on one side to Italy, and on the other to the peoples of central Europe, and none whatever to the other inhabitants of England at any period, with the possible exception of the Bronze Age. Morant suggests that his Spitalfields series may be of people of 'Roman' date and of pure Italian origin. He believes that these foreign immigrants in Roman times may have left descendants who lingered on, for example at Hythe, somewhat altered by intermarriage. He is very careful to point out that this is merely an hypothesis.

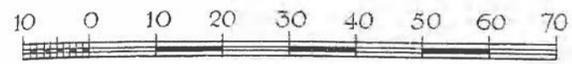
The evidence from Butley Priory, from Oxford, Abingdon, and elsewhere, suggests that this alien type had a much wider distribution than the evidence at Morant's disposal warranted him in supposing. We have thus two possible suggestions; a survival from Roman times of an alien element in the population; or secondly, that there was in medieval times a wide immigration into England of an alien type from the continent, which ultimately during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, if not before, was absorbed in the rest of the population. Morant suggests that there was a secular change in the population of Hythe during the period when the ambulatory of St. Leonard's was being used as an ossuary. In Oxford we can trace the history of the population within our immediate area from Neolithic times onwards. Such evidence as we have, which is, except in the case of the earlier populations, not based on long series, definitely suggests that the only possible explanation of the alien medieval type is an immigration during medieval times, whether from other parts of England or the continent we cannot at present say.

It might be reasonably suggested that at Abingdon and Butley we have got an alien ecclesiastical population, not the inhabitants of the country. That is a question which the historian of English



BUTLEY PRIORY

SCALE OF FEET



- LATE 12TH CENTURY
 - 13TH CENTURY (RERE-DORTER UNCERTAIN)
 - 14TH CENTURY
 - 15TH CENTURY
 - MODERN FARM BUILDINGS
 - FOUNDATIONS OF EARLY CHURCH
- T.P. ~ TILE PAVING IN SITU

monasteries can possibly solve for us¹, but in the case of the ossuaries, and of the miscellaneous graves we must be dealing with the normal population. It should be noticed that after all we have only evidence from a small part of eastern and midland England. It may be that this immigration was due to historical circumstances, possibly associated with our connection with the continent, and that ultimately the alien element became absorbed in the rest of the population. The matter must remain a mere hypothesis until we have evidence from carefully dated medieval graves elsewhere, especially in the west.

¹ It is practically certain that the Canons of Butley, as of other monasteries in medieval England, were recruited in the main locally. See Appendix 7 (J.N.L.M.).